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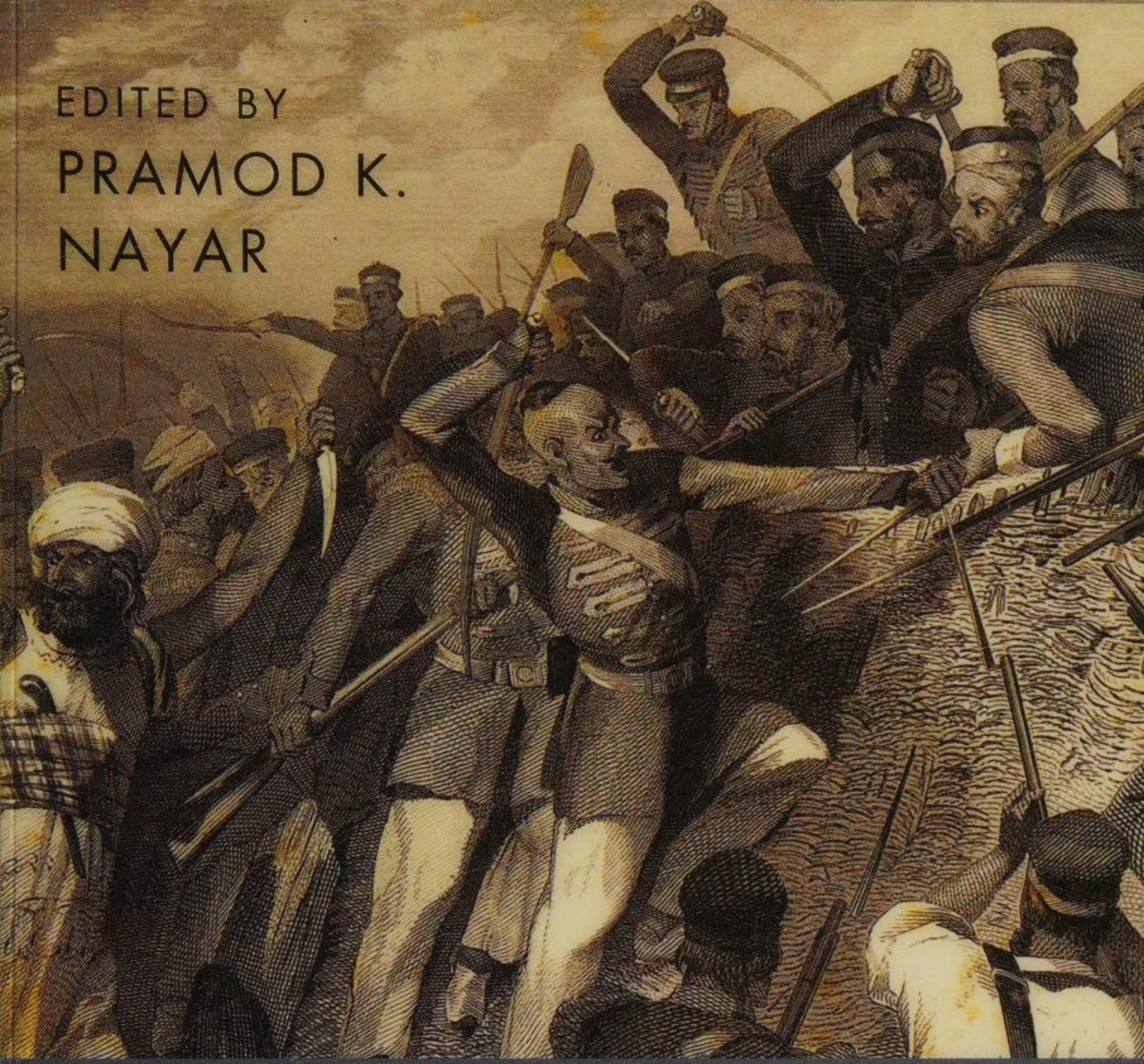

THE PENGUIN

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THE PENGUIN 1857 READER

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The Penguin 1857 Reader

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PRAMOD K. NAYAR

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Ai, Baba at Nagpur—this one is for you

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Nandini, for everything she does. Every time.

1857–1858: A CHRONOLOGY

1857

January	Protests at Dum Dum over cartridges
February	Barrackpore and Berhampore protests
29 March	Mangal Pandey's actions at Barrackpore
8 April	Mangal Pandey hanged
10 May	Outbreak at Meerut
11 May	Europeans killed in Delhi
30 May	Lucknow regiments rise
5 June	Kanpur regiments rise
6 June	Kanpur siege begins
25 June	Nana Saheb offers terms to Wheeler
27 June	Massacre at Satichaura Ghat, Kanpur
30 June	Lucknow Residency surrounded
4 July	Henry Lawrence dies at Lucknow
7 July	Henry Havelock leaves for Kanpur from Allahabad
16 July	Nana Saheb defeated
29 July	Havelock wins at Unao
14 August	John Nicholson's Column arrives at Delhi Ridge
16 August	Havelock wins at Bithur
5 September	James Outram arrives at Kanpur
14 September	Attack on Delhi
19 September	Outram and Havelock begin attack on Lucknow
21 September	Bahadur Shah Zafar is captured and surrenders
22 September	Bahadur Shah Zafar's sons shot dead by William Hodson

25 September	First Relief of Lucknow, siege continues
9 November	Thomas Henry Kavanagh escapes from Lucknow
17 November	Second Relief of Lucknow (Sir Colin Campbell)
19 November	Women and children evacuated from Lucknow
24 November	Havelock dies
6 December	Tatya Tope defeated by Campbell

1858

27 January	Trial of Bahadur Shah Zafar begins
9 March	Bahadur Shah Zafar found guilty, exiled
21 March	Hugh Rose arrives in Jhansi, Lucknow taken
3 April	Jhansi taken
23 April	Rose enters Kalpi
17 June	Rani of Jhansi dies
1 November	East India Company dissolved, Queen of England takes charge

INTRODUCTION

Dum Dum, near Calcutta. It is the January of 1857. A 'lower-caste' Lascar approaches a Brahmin sepoy and requests a drink of water. The Brahmin refuses to share his supplies on the grounds that the lower caste's touch would pollute his receptacle. The lower-caste Lascar, furious at the refusal and the insult, retorts: 'There is no reason for you to be so uppity about your caste. The new cartridges, prepared with cow's and pig's fat, will ruin your caste soon anyway.' The Brahmin sepoy, appalled at both the Lascar's cheek and the story, rushes back to the barracks—and the wheel begins to turn, inexorably. It sets in motion the most momentous year in the history of one of the largest empires in the world ever, the British Raj, in its most prized territory, India.

The present volume presents the events of 1857 from various perspectives: English, Indian, European and American. It provides glimpses into the actions across northern India—Awadh, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Calcutta, Meerut and Punjab during this crucial year. It maps the contours of dissent and symptoms of 'rebellion' against the Raj. It traces a path through the events from January 1857 till the capture and execution of the last 'rebel' leader, Tatya Tope. It also explores the multiple configurations of responses to the events in India—from sympathy for the

British to a deeper understanding of the actions of the 'mutineers'.

The year 1857 cannot, however, be seen in isolation. It is a year in which the Indo-British encounter attains a new dimension. The sequence of events begins much earlier, nearly 250 years before either Dum Dum or Mangal Pandey. It begins, in fact, with a bunch of merchants, a powerful monarch and a nondescript charter on a tiny island off the European mainland in the freezing winter of the last day of the sixteenth century, a century that also belonged, in more ways than one, to a certain William Shakespeare.

On the last day of 1599, Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter permitting the newly established East India Company, located in London, to trade with the East Indies. In 1612, the English set up a trading post at Surat. Sir Thomas Roe, spending three years at the court of Mughal Emperor Jahangir, obtained more trade concessions. 'Factories'—warehouses, where resident agents, called 'factors', collected goods until they were loaded on the ship—were established. The East India Company made Calcutta its chief trading centre and Company headquarters. In London, the Company set up its own quarters in Leadenhall Street in 1726. With the Act of Union between England and Scotland sealed in 1707, the East India Company became a *British* rather than an English company.

The India trade grew over the century, with the intrepid Englishmen inching their way across India, battling its diseases (more Englishmen died of cholera than due to any other cause—an Englishman's life in India was believed to last just 'two monsoons'[1]), climate, and often, its people. By 1793, India was making a direct contribution of £500,000 annually to the English exchequer and ensuring India's continual location on the centre stage of English parliamentary and public debates. The Company sold Indian

products such as spices, indigo, saltpetre (used to make gunpowder), and Indian textiles (calico, muslin, chintz) in Europe. Pepper and other spices were obtained from Malabar. Sugar came from Madras, indigo dye from Gujarat, and silk from Bengal.

In the period 1750–1800, the Company—commonly known as John Company—established its authority. The battle of Plassey in 1757 and the battle of Buxar in 1764 saw the transformation of the Company from a trading outfit into a political power. Military superiority and control over land, revenue and trade emerged as the Company's prime concerns. Fort William at Calcutta emerged as the epicentre of British power in India. By the end of the seventeenth century there were three presidencies in India: Madras, Bengal and Bombay. A president or governor, assisted by a council of ten senior merchants called the members in council, governed each presidency. This does not mean, of course, that life for the Company was smooth. Far from it, in fact. The several wars (especially the protracted ones with Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan), charges of corruption, infighting at the East India House (London), mounting debts, the parliamentary investigations of the 1780s, and the trial of Warren Hastings (beginning in 1788), followed by the appointment and disputed recall of Governor-General Arthur Wellesley eroded the Company's standing. While war was not deemed a wise mode of social interaction with India or Indians, the eighteenth century saw several battles with native kings and other European powers. Despite these difficulties, it was never disputed that England needed to stay on in India. With Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the British saw the first sustained resistance to their presence (as V.D. Savarkar also points out). Lord Cornwallis played a decisive role in consolidating the administrative structures of the Company, and kept Indians out of the administration. He sought to protect private property, introduce the famous British 'rule of law', and is known primarily for his 'Permanent

Settlement' of Bengal. Cornwallis divested the zamindars of their police duties in 1793.

British presence was consolidated after 1830, and Britain was on its way to creating the largest empire the world had ever seen (though it would be another couple of decades before Queen Victoria would be declared 'Empress of India'). By 1837, when Victoria ascended the throne of England, 50,000 Britons ruled over ninety million Indians—a feat unparalleled then, or since, in human history. Soon rail lines crept across sections of the Indian landscape and steamships chugged on the Ganga. In 1835, the Company took a momentous decision: hereafter, coins would not carry the Mughal emperor's name. Clearly the Mughal empire and emperor had ceased to be of any real importance. Meanwhile, the evangelical movement to 'reform' and 'improve' India and Indians was underway. British missionaries and educationists, statesmen and administrators decided that Indian culture, religion, political system, agriculture—in short, anything that the pre-Mughal or Mughal 'India' had—were primitive, ineffectual and needed westernization. Movements and administrative measures towards the abolition of 'evils' such as sati, thuggee and infanticide were initiated. During the first decades of the nineteenth century there were a large number of legislative and administrative measures for the 'reform' and 'improvement' of India. Conversion to Christianity was a threat under which Indians began to live, especially after the 1813 Charter Act allowed missionaries to enter India and proselytize. By 1851, there were nineteen such societies in operation in India, excluding the unattached missionaries operating from 222 mission stations. The 4000 Indian Christians in the Punjab in the 1880s grew to 163,000 by 1911. In the United Provinces, the Methodists grew to 104,000 between 1901 and 1911. India also boasted the largest number of foreign missionaries in any non-Christian country: 5200.[2]

Governor-Generals such as Lord Dalhousie annexed territories from landowners and native princes. Wellesley

extended the borders of British India northwards into the Ganga valley. He managed to neutralize the Peshwa of Poona in 1802 and conquered Delhi in 1803. Through the Subsidiary Alliance system, more territory was acquired. In this system the Indian prince/ruler secured protection from enemies by paying for the Company's troops in his territory. Arcot, Awadh and Hyderabad were controlled through this system. With the Company demand for payment being incessant, the native states were driven into bankruptcy. Dalhousie alone annexed over 250,000 square miles of land. Charles Napier occupied Sind in 1843 and, after the death of Ranjit Singh, the Punjab in 1849. By the 1850s, Britain was in control of the land from the Khyber to Irrawaddy. The princes were, naturally, peeved at losing their ancestral rights, privileges and sources of income. The arrogant, indifferent and quite often rude behaviour of English officials aggravated and alienated them further from the Indians. The Mahalwari system introduced to increase revenue collection alienated landlords. Many lost their lands to moneylenders.[3] The annexation of Awadh (or Oudh) had been an immediate and crucial provocation, and local newspapers expressed a great deal of bitterness.[4] When Wajid Ali Shah was deposed songs were composed about the sadness of his people.

Weavers, peasants, blacksmiths and other professionals had also been affected by British policies, with many driven to penury. By 1815, Indian textiles could not compete with British machine-made goods. British textiles began to flood Indian markets, and colonial economy—exporting raw material from the colony, importing manufactured goods at high prices—made its first major appearance. Weavers all over India, but especially in Dacca and Murshidabad, were ruined as a result. Officials and nobles in courts had lost their lucrative landholdings, incomes and status.

There had been rural 'rebellions' by peasants, tribals and others before 1857: the Moplahs in Malabar in 1849, 1851 and 1852 (and later in 1870), the Bhils in 1819, 1829,

1844–46 and the Santhals in 1855-56. The Wahabis used the issue of faith effectively to rouse dissent, arguing that the British would destroy the people's faith. Statesmen such as Mountstuart Elphinstone and Charles Metcalfe, worried by the pace of reforms and the evangelical overdrive exhibited by the missionaries and officials, feared that Indians would perceive 'reform' as interference, and that this might mean unrest. They recommended that Indian reform should proceed very circumspectly. It was in such tense circumstances and debates about the precise methods of governing and 'reforming' India that numerous British statesmen and administrators began to hear of an unusual form of communication being used in parts of northern India.

Chapattis circulated mysteriously throughout the northern regions, perhaps as a secret message, during the first few months of 1857. There may have been other symptoms but British officials chose to ignore them. Numerous accounts by British soldiers and civilians from the time express the view that the government itself had let them down by not heeding warnings and by being far too lenient towards sepoys.[5] Whether the chapattis were messages that sought to establish contact and enlist support among disaffected sepoys and civilians was never proved. Clearly, disaffection persisted in many regions of northern India.

The army, which was at the heart of the 'mutiny', was now almost entirely made up of native men. Stringer Lawrence had begun the drive to create a permanent Indian Army in 1748. However, it was Robert Clive, who, after the success at Plassey, realized the need for a strong army and began large-scale recruitment of Indian soldiers. These 'sepoys' (derived from the Persian, 'sipahi') were recruited from Rajput and Brahmin communities in the Awadh–Bihar region. Attempts were also made to recruit from the hill tribes, especially after the Company extended its territories

into the mountainous areas of what is now Jharkhand in the 1770s and the ceded and conquered districts in the early 1800s. The Company's army soon began to include diverse social groups. Clive, Hastings and others ensured that religious sentiments of the various communities were respected, and that festivals such as the Ram Lila were granted official recognition. By 1790, the Indian Army had 100,000 men. It was 154,000 in 1824 and 214,000 in 1856.

The white officers often took long periods of leave, and the junior staff, given more to a life of ease and luxury than rigour and discipline, lacked the earlier generation's commitment and quality. The Company army had been divided, since 1839, into three presidency forces, in Madras, Bombay and Bengal. It was paid for by the Company though it was, in effect, the British Crown's army.[6] Statistically, native soldiers outnumbered Europeans. John Bonham (1928:12) provides a break-up of the soldiers in Awadh:

Artillery: 760
Cavalry: 3400
Infantry: 16,400
Total Native troops: 20,560
Europeans: 875

Relations between the native soldiers and their white counterparts or officers also worsened as the empire grew in strength. Inefficiency was high, with the Bengal army acquiring the dubious distinction of being described as the 'most expensive and inefficient in the world'.

The British, as noted before, had been careful to ensure the 'sanctity' of the Indian's caste biases and feelings. In 1806, the native soldiers had mutinied because they had been ordered to wear a headdress which included a leather cockade rumoured to have been made of either cowhide or pigskin. In 1824, a regiment had refused to go to Burma because crossing the sea would have meant losing their caste. The disastrous Afghan campaign in 1842—where, of

the 16,000 British and Indian troops, one man survived[7]— stained the army escutcheon and removed the aura of invincibility around the British. In 1852, the 38th Native Infantry refused to go to Burma for the same reason. In order to prevent such mutinous situations an act was passed in 1856. The General Service Enlistment Act gave the Company absolute authority regarding assigning soldiers to duties across the seas. 'Lower' castes were not recruited into the army after the 1855 Regulations prohibited it. The sepoy cooks were allowed to cook separately, so that they did not feel 'polluted' in such matters, as Mrs Coopland points out in her account (Coopland, 1859). It is in this context that the East India Company introduced greased cartridges for use in the Enfield rifles.

Rumours circulated among the sepoys that this grease was made from the fat of cows and pigs. This meant that both Muslim and Hindu soldiers saw it as a threat to their religious beliefs. Major-General J.B. Hearsey, who conducted an enquiry into the sepoy unrest at Barrackpore in February 1857, noted a sense of disquiet over the cartridges and even recommended that the British stop using them altogether. Local chieftains, kings and leaders began voicing their unhappiness with the Raj. Ahmed Ahmadullah Shah, Maulvi of Faizabad and adviser to the ex-king of Awadh, Lakshmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi, Dhondu Pant (or Nana Saheb, as he was to be known soon) spoke out against the Raj as rumours and disaffection spread.

On 26 February, the 19th Native Infantry at Berhampore refused to use the new cartridges and were court-martialled. Reports came in of mysterious fires in cantonments and barracks. Closely following these incidents were the actions of one Mangal Pandey in Barrackpore on 29 March. Mangal Pandey, a Brahmin sepoy of the 34th, who admitted during his subsequent trial that he had been 'high' on bhang, dressed unusually in his traditional dhoti rather than the uniform breeches, turned his gun on General Hearsey. Caught, tried and hanged, Mangal Pandey moves away into

the corners of history, until years later V.D. Savarkar glorifies him as a martyr. On 6 May, the 34th was disbanded and its sepoys headed into the Awadh region, from where many of them hailed. Awadh by now was a seething cauldron of discontent. In this atmosphere of tension, the top officers, including General Anson of the Bengal army, moved to Shimla and the cooler regions, following their established routine. This meant that there was no clear central command left in May 1857.

On 23 April, Colonel George Carmichael Smyth, of the 3rd Light Cavalry, Meerut, against all advice from his junior officers, enquired of each of the eighty-five men in his regiment whether they would accept the new cartridges. Five of them agreed to do so. Eventually, however, Smyth ordered court-martial for all eighty-five. On 8 May, the men of the 3rd Light Cavalry at Meerut were found guilty and put in irons in full view of everyone. Their buttons were torn from them and fetters fixed. During this humiliating event, many soldiers wept—the court-martial ended any hope of pension—but others exhorted their comrades to come out against the British officers. Hugh Gough, a junior officer in the regiment, moved by the fate of the men, visited them in the hospital where they had been temporarily imprisoned. That night a sepoy warned Gough that the sepoys would mutiny the next day. Gough informed his commanding officer, who ignored the warning. The next day, a Sunday, Rev. John Rotton was warned by his Indian maidservant not to go out. In the narrow streets, soldiers from the 3rd Cavalry met in corners and debated the fate of the eighty-five men. When the 60th Foot went for the church parade, rumours began to circulate that they would be put in irons too. Signs of unrest were noticed in the 48th at Lucknow too. Critical mass had been reached. The events now raced to a climax.

The cavalrymen grabbed their weapons and headed for the hospital to free their comrades. When the 20th Native Infantry saw them approach they offered no resistance. In

moments the eighty-five court-martialled and imprisoned men were freed, along with other civilian prisoners. John Finnis of the 11th was one of the first British officers to fall—shot by the 20th as he came out to reason with his men. The biggest Indo-British military encounter since Plassey (exactly one hundred years earlier) and the Anglo-Mysore Wars had begun. The 'sepoy mutiny' was on.

The telegraph wires were cut and there was no way the Meerut officers could contact other regiments for help. Looting and plunder proceeded briskly. Englishmen's bungalows were burnt and many killed with their families. Some sepoys and native servants, however, helped their English officers and their families to escape at great risk to themselves. The 'mutineers' themselves left town in a few hours and headed for Delhi.

On the morning of 11 May, they arrived at Delhi and went straight to the Red Fort, where resided the last Mughal emperor—though with no imperial powers, since he survived on a pension from the Company—Muhammad Bahadur Shah (aka Bahadur Shah Zafar). The eighty-two-year-old ailing and not very alert Bahadur Shah suddenly found himself at the centre of a great deal of attention (joined by his bodyguard, the rebel sepoys fired gun salutes). The sepoys, while not very polite—they *rode* into his personal quarters, barged into the Hall of Special Audience, wandered around the royal gardens, and even touched his beard calling him '*arey buddhey*', to his understandable annoyance—pleaded with him to assume charge. He held the first durbar in fifteen years the day after the Meerut sepoys arrived in Delhi. He accepted tributes as the sepoys swore their allegiance to the 'King of Delhi'. The royal princes were appointed to positions of command in the army. Bahadur Shah's letters to his son, Mirza Moghal (presented during his trial and reprinted in *Proceedings on* [sic] *the Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah*, 1858), are petulant complaints about the behaviour of the soldiers and of his own helplessness (this latter fact, that he was a pawn

at the hands of the sepoys, was ignored by the British during the trial).

Meanwhile, Englishmen and women were being sought out and killed in Daryaganj and other places in Delhi. Eurasian families were not spared as the mob swept through the city, completely routing British authority. Two telegraph signallers, William Brendish and J.W. Pilkington now entered the scene, and became the first heroes of 1857. Realizing the enormity of events, they took the initiative to telegraph the Commander-in-Chief at Shimla:

> We must leave office. All the bungalows are being burnt down by the Sepoys from Meerut. We are off. Mr Todd [the Postmaster at Delhi] is dead I think ... We learn that nine Europeans were killed.

The message went across stations and the news finally broke on all the British officers. In Delhi, the main magazine had been taken over by the 'mutineers'. Lt Willoughby and others, alert to the consequences of the Kashmir gate guns also falling into 'rebel' hands, blew up the magazine and died in the process. Several of the English managed to escape, disguised and wounded, to record their experiences in subsequent memoirs and diaries.

By 17 May, the British began to undertake retrieval measures. John Lawrence, chief commissioner of the Punjab, wrote to London asking for reinforcements. The Delhi Field Force had been raised and a column under Archdale Wilson set off from Meerut. Henry Barnard, a senior officer, defeated a force of sepoys near Badli-ke-serai on 8 June, and soon reached beleaguered Delhi. At Lahore, Indian regiments were disarmed because John Lawrence was uncertain of their loyalty.

General Hugh Wheeler, at Kanpur, had also heard of disaffection. His wife was an Indian, and a close friend of the Raja of Bithur (Nana Saheb)—something that gave Wheeler misplaced faith in Nana Saheb. Nana Saheb had lost his pension because the British government had not

accepted him as the heir after his father's death. Nana Saheb was also, as a result, heavily in debt. General Wheeler trusted him, despite warnings from Henry Lawrence and Martin Gubbins (the financial commissioner). Hearing of tensions, Wheeler chose two barrack buildings as shelter for the British in Kanpur. Wheeler had exactly six guns, eighty-four men of the 32nd Foot (sent by Henry Lawrence from Lucknow), 200 unattached officers, soldiers and civilians, and forty-four native bandsmen. He also had, among this lot, seventy-four invalids.

In Lucknow, Henry Lawrence was already a sick man, but behaved with far greater caution than Wheeler. Lawrence stayed in constant touch with Lord Canning (who was the head of the government in India), sending detailed reports of the situation. He also fortified the Residency, hoarding away provisions and ammunition in anticipation of a siege. Both Wheeler and Lawrence awaited reinforcements from Calcutta.

On 4 June the 1st Native Infantry mutinied at Kanpur. The British moved into the entrenchment. Unfortunately, the entrenchment was ineffective and the people inside (numbering nearly 400) were subject to a constant barrage of bullets. After twelve days of siege in unbearably hot weather, Wheeler pleaded with Lucknow to send relief, signing off with 'We want aid, aid, aid!' The area stank of putrefaction, disease and burning flesh. Food was running low. Corpses were dumped in a disused well. The only water source was a well, and many men died trying to retrieve water for the children, many of whom were dying of dehydration. And someone inscribed on the walls: 'My God, my God, when wilt Thou deliver us?' Nana Saheb realized that provisions and medicines in Wheeler's camp would be running low. He sent an emissary promising safe passage for all the English. Wheeler was, for once, uncertain of Nana Saheb's intentions.

Canning asked Henry Havelock to speed to Kanpur and help Wheeler. All over north India the 'mutiny' had arrived,

with Englishmen and women on the run, shivering at rumours of mutilation and butchery. Reinforcements for Kanpur, led by James Neill, had reached Benares on 3 June, before the rising had taken place. Benares became a spot of bother. Neill sought to disarm native soldiers and delayed moving to Allahabad as he hanged 'mutineers' at every conceivable opportunity. Mango trees, it was said, often had bodies hanging upon them. Neill arrived in Allahabad on 11 June and pushed Major Sydenham Renaud towards Kanpur. The delay proved fatal.

On 24 June, General Wheeler wrote to Henry Lawrence: 'We have been cruelly deserted and left to our fate ... Surely we are not to die like rats in a cage.' On the morning of 27 June, Nana Saheb provided forty boats at Satichaura Ghat on the Ganga. The English, including many women and children, consisted of dozens of wounded and dying. Among them were Wheeler, his wife and daughters. When they reached the ghat they discovered that Nana Saheb had not provided any means of getting into the boats. Wading through the water the English entered the boats. The boatmen jumped off the boats and the British officers fired at them. This provoked firing from the shores and soon a massacre was on. Whether the whole thing was a deliberate move, or was triggered by the tense situation and by British officers opening fire and Nana Saheb's inability to control his men was never very clear. Women and children were shot, burnt or bludgeoned to death. Wheeler was cut down. One boat with twenty people got away, four men survived. Back at the ghat, about sixty men and 125 women were dragged ashore. The men were killed and the women taken away to Bibighar, where other captives from Fatehgarh joined them. Wheeler's daughter became the subject of apocryphal stories (later writers disputed she ever did any of these, see Hibbert's *The Great Mutiny India 1857*)—of her battle with sepoys (the subject of a steel engraving and reproduced under the title 'Miss Wheeler Defending Herself Against the Sepoys at Cawnpore' in Charles Ball's *History of the Indian*

Mutiny, 1858-59), her killing of her kidnapper's family, and her suicide.

Elsewhere, British authority was collapsing with a rapidity that was incredible. Jhansi, Nasirabad (Rajputana), parts of Gwalior, Indore and much of northern India was up in arms against the British government. In the course of the 'mutiny', several native princes, sepoys and landlords—Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, as the extracts show—pledged their continuing support to the Raj and their British rulers, in many cases sending letters of 'native fidelity'. British magazines proudly mentioned acts of loyalty such as that of the Raja of Jullundhur, who supplied troops to the British, and 'by every means in his power strengthened the hands of Government' (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 83 [1858]: 243). Entire regiments were eventually identified and praised for their loyalty during the events. As late as 1900, regiments were identified in terms of their loyalty, or lack of it, during 1857. For example, the *Daily News* (12 June 1900) praised a regiment, Jacob's Horse, for its loyalty: 'The popular demoralization caused by the Mutiny spread to the Sind border, but Jacob's Horse, in spite of the Mutineer's tampering with them, remained staunchly loyal.'

British countermeasures and retributive moves began in earnest around July. Havelock declared before setting out from Allahabad that they were leaving to 'avenge the death of British men and women'. Tales of cruelty to British women and children spurred them on. By 15 July, Havelock was thirty-odd miles from Kanpur, often marching between lines of corpses (suspected Indian mutineers who had been executed) hanging from trees. Nana Saheb had declared himself 'peshwa'. News of Havelock's imminent arrival at Kanpur provoked yet another massacre of all the prisoners, numbering about 250, in Bibighar. When Havelock's forces met Nana Saheb's men just outside Kanpur, the battle was bloody but short. Exhausted but determined, British troops defeated Nana Saheb's in a wave of blood. Nana Saheb himself left Kanpur for Bithur. On 17 July, Havelock's men,

led by Henry Ayton, marched into Kanpur, and Kanpur passed into legend when they saw Bibighar.

The walls were covered with bloody handprints, many those of children. Personal items—trinkets, pieces of footwear—and dismembered bodies lay all around. And then the relief force looked down the well: it was piled with mutilated bodies and heads and limbs. Inside Bibighar, the floor was thick with blood. Later, William Howard Russell, the famous *Times* reporter, discovered that several of the messages on the Bibighar walls, purported to have been written by the victims during the siege, were actually inscribed long *afterwards*. Mutiny memorials came up during the years following 1857 (the All Souls Church Mutiny Memorial, Kanpur, has a sizeable collection, including that of the Wheelers. Others dot cemeteries in Vellore, Calcutta, Delhi and Jhansi). The Kanpur memorials state: 'In memory of more than a thousand Christian people, who met their deaths hard by...'

The iron self-control that the British forces had displayed so far snapped at what they saw in Kanpur. 'Vengeance' became the key word and 'Remember Bibighar' the slogan that reverberated across British India through 1857-58 as troops cut through resistance with a brutality they had never exhibited even at Plassey. The desire for revenge combined with the evangelical zeal—most of the heroes of 1857, including Nicholson, Havelock, James Neill and Henry Lawrence, were staunch believers—produced a determined soldiery never before seen in British India.

British retribution was terrible and immediate. Sepoys were executed in hundreds, mostly shot from cannons or hanged. Administrator and historian Montgomery Martin mentions that he encountered so many bodies of executed Indians on his morning walks in Delhi that he stopped going out altogether. The retribution had, in Robert Barr Smith's recent account, all the features of 'Old Testament vengeance', partly because the British troops and leaders saw the 'mutiny' as a battle between God and Darkness,

true religion and paganism.[8] Lord Canning, however, argued against large-scale massacre of Indians for the sake of revenge. 'Not one man in ten seems to think that the hanging and shooting of 40,000 or 50,000 men could be otherwise than practical and right,' wrote Canning to Queen Victoria.

John Lawrence asked W.S.R. Hodson, a temperamental soldier who had been in trouble about money matters, to raise a column of Sikhs. This regiment, eventually known as Hodson's Horse, was to become one of the great names in the British response. Hodson headed towards Delhi, eager for battle. In Lucknow, the siege of the Residency continued. Henry Lawrence died of wounds, as cholera, shortage of provisions and continuous firing began to take their toll. Havelock pushed grimly on, hampered by exhausted men (who anyway numbered just about 850) and the monsoon.

John Nicholson, the hero of Afghanistan, and the subject of a novel by J. Claverdon Wood (pseudonym of Thomas Carter), *How Nicholson Kept the Border*, was entrusted with the task of retrieving Delhi, commanding the Punjab Moveable Column created for this purpose by John Lawrence. Immortalized for his contemptuous dismissal of court-martials of sepoys—'the punishment for mutiny is death', he scrawled on the reverse of a request from civil authorities asking for a list of punishments inflicted on mutineers, before sending it back—the imposing Nicholson, or 'Nikal Seyn' as he was called by Indians, known for great personal courage, and whose presence was heralded with the installation of gallows to execute 'mutineers', arrived at the Delhi Ridge on 14 August. After some fierce fighting in which 1254 Englishmen were killed, the British recaptured Delhi. Nicholson died at the very moment of victory, at Delhi's Kashmir Gate. He was thirty-five years old.

Bahadur Shah Zafar was arrested—he surrendered to Hodson on the promise of his life, on 21 September. His sons, Mirza Moghal and Mirza Khizr Sultan, and one

grandson, Abu Bakr, were captured and shot dead by Captain Hodson on a Delhi street. Bahadur Shah Zafar was eventually tried, convicted and transported to Rangoon for imprisonment. Looting was rampant even as dead bodies piled high in the streets. Inhabitants of the city hid in cellars, fearing both the 'rebels' and the British troops. With fears of plague mounting—cholera was already doing its rounds—these inhabitants were sent out of the city where many died of starvation. Mrs Muter saw a well into which Indian girls had flung themselves to escape from the approaching British troops.

Letters to newspapers in England pleaded for stern action against the 'mutineers', especially when stories of the sepoys' brutal behaviour began to circulate. Mrs Coopland, a survivor of the Gwalior siege, recommended that Delhi be 'razed to the ground'. Most of the English were unhappy with Canning's leniency (which gave him the epithet 'Clemency Canning') and even pleaded for his removal from the post of Governor-General.

Lucknow Residency was still under siege during August, even as Delhi became the focus of British countermeasures. Children began to die of malnutrition and disease (as Julia Inglis, wife of the commanding officer, records in her diary). The Indian soldiers with the garrison inside the Residency were also suspected of colluding with the 'rebels'. Colin Campbell had taken over as commander-in-chief in Calcutta. Havelock finally closed in on Lucknow, with the help of James Outram's forces (though the command of the relief force was always in some doubt and produced a great deal of confusion among the ranks). Winding its way through the narrow streets, under heavy fire, Havelock's force pressed on towards the Residency. By the time they reached the Residency, 535 of the 2000 men in the advance were killed. Lucknow finally came under total British control by the end of November. Henry Havelock died soon after, of dysentery, that scourge of British forces throughout 1857.

News of these victories did much to energize British troops elsewhere in northern India. At Kanpur, Charles Windham was still fighting hard to retain some minor advantage. Tatya Tope arrived at Kalpi, forty-six miles from Kanpur. Windham was forced to retreat as a result of Tope's tactics and eventually it was Campbell's forces that defeated Tope, Nana Saheb and the Gwalior forces.

British troops arrived from Burma, Ceylon and Persia to add to the forces seeking to rout the 'rebels'. Hugh Rose recaptured Saugur and turned towards Jhansi. Jhansi, another place that moves into history because of Rani Lakshmi Bai—immortalized in folk songs and by Subhadra Kumari Chauhan's oft-quoted poem—and her defiance of the British. Eventually, Jhansi fell due to Rose's tactics—feinting against one wall, while throwing his main attack on the opposite side—though Lakshmi Bai escaped.

Parts of northern India remained out of British control for nearly a year as fighting continued till the end of 1858. Campbell sent out forces against the Maulvi of Faizabad (he was eventually killed by one of his own noblemen), Kunwar Singh (at Azamgarh, Kunwar Singh became famous for chopping off his arm, which had been shattered by a cannon, and throwing it into the Ganga as a last sacred offering) and Rao Sahib (at Kalpi). On 17 June, Rose met Lakshmi Bai at Kotah-ke-serai and finally won. Lakshmi Bai died in the battle. Tope eluded the British forces for a long time by being constantly on the move across the Jaipur, Mangrauli, Nagpur and Chota Udaipur regions. Finally, on 7 April 1859, his position was betrayed to the British, and he was captured when alone and asleep. He was hanged, and Tope is said to have even adjusted the noose around his neck before the executioner could do so. Firuz Shah, a Mughal prince who had been driven out of Rohilkhand by Sir Colin Campbell and with whom Maulvi Ahmed Ahmadullah Shah had forged an alliance against the British, died in Mecca in 1877. Nana Saheb, by now notorious as the 'butcher of Cawnpore', was never caught,

though a massive manhunt did round up numerous 'doubles'.

After 1857, the Company army was reorganized. In 1857, there were 34,000 European soldiers to 257,000 Indians. By 1863, there were 62,000 British soldiers to 125,000 Indians. This ratio of 1:2 was maintained throughout the Bengal Presidency, and a ratio of 1:3 was followed in the others. An Auxiliary Force of India was raised. Every European male civilian was to be imparted part-time military training. No Indians were allowed to man field guns (this restriction lasted until the First World War). Interestingly, several companies in the army were officered by Indians, as a British way of showing trust. Further, the companies had a mixed demography. Indians from all castes and religious affiliations were grouped together in order to prevent a potential mutiny leader from mustering enough caste-based support. The British drew the main population of the army from communities it saw as 'martial': Rajputs, Deccan Muslims, Gurkhas and Sikhs.

One of the direct political consequences of the events of 1857 was the end of the Company's rule. On 1 November 1858, Queen Victoria proclaimed a new government for India, directly under the British monarch. Soon, India was the only colony in the world to be represented by a Secretary of State in England. The Governor-General was now called 'Viceroy'. With this Britain became the unquestionable ruler of India.[9]

The years 1857-58 marked a critical moment in Indo-British relationship. The events of the years—starting with the shooting of English officers by the Indian sepoys of the East India Company in May 1857 to the trial and exile of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar in 1858—have been variously described, 'mutiny' being the British popular title. I use the term 'mutiny' in quotes to indicate that what happened during the course of the year is open to

interpretation. The way in which the events of 1857-58 get interpreted depends on the ideology, politics and immediate intentions of the person or community doing the interpretation. For the British, and much of Euro-American community during the nineteenth century and later, it was a 'mutiny'. For the Indians it was, especially after Savarkar coined the phrase, 'the first war of Indian Independence'. The nature of the 'revolt' was also variously described and interpreted: as a purely military 'revolt', a 'popular uprising', an anti-colonial movement, and as a 'nationalist revolt'. Organized in some areas of northern India, and a spontaneous combustion in others, military in nature in certain cases and joined by civilians in others, the events of 1857-58 are fascinatingly varied in their nature, causes and effects.

The period has always been the subject of debate, controversy and multiple interpretations. The documentation on the 'mutiny' clearly reveals this diversity of opinion and responses to the events. Seeking causes to explain this bewildering 'turning' of once loyal sepoys and natives, commentators explored the religious, social and political contexts of British India. Rudrangshu Mukherjee's interpretation that it was essentially a popular uprising against foreign rule seems by far the most convincing here.[10]

Responses to the events of 1857-58 came in even as they unfolded across India. British 'heroes' of the 'mutiny' were glorified, with 50,700 recipients—both military and civilian—of the Indian Mutiny Medal alone. British newspapers and periodicals identified British heroes in their columns. 'Who saw the heroes of the Indian Mutiny in the Company's lazy officials?', asked a report in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Vol. 94 [1863]: 739). Nana Saheb and Mangal Pandey were demonized. The Indian sepoy came to be called 'Pandy' after 'Pandey'. The year 1857 became, in the words of the historian Charles Crosthwaite, 'the epic of the race'.

During the trial of Bahadur Shah Zafar it was concluded that the whole 'mutiny' was the result of a Mohammedan

conspiracy. An American newspaper, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, called it 'the Indian Rebellion', thereby giving it a larger geographical character, even though southern India had been largely untouched.[11] Benjamin Disraeli, the prime minister of Britain between 1874 and 1880, believed that the events were 'occasioned by adequate causes'. The British historian John Kaye, who wrote a three-volume account in 1864 (expanded to five volumes by G.B. Malleson in the 1888 edition), argued that the Brahmins, upset over their loss of privileges, instigated the 'mutiny'. Kaye also argued that 1857 was a military problem—the result of the cartridge—and that there was no evidence of a general dissatisfaction with the Raj. Charles Ball in his massive *History of the Indian Mutiny* attributed it to the instigation of the maulvis, a comment echoed across the Atlantic in the *New York Times*, which titled one of its India updates 'A Mahommedan Conspiracy for the Sovereignty of India' (13 August 1857). A few British commentators believed that it was a movement against Christianity itself, and was partly the result of proselytizing by British officers. Moving sharply to the other extreme, others argued that the British had not been Christian enough. They argued that the revolt was essentially a clash between pagan faiths and Christianity.[12] A few saw the absence of a proper commitment towards the sepoys on the part of the European officers as a clear cause of the 'mutiny'. Some attributed it to the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, and a letter in the *Englishman* went on to call him the 'prince of pigs' for his acquisitiveness! The events of 1857 were also treated as symptoms of a general Indian dissatisfaction with Europeanization. Survivors like Fred Roberts, looking back at their life in India, argued that the British government itself had failed. Other liberal conservatives, along with Disraeli, suggested that Indians were not yet ready for this kind of reform, or for responsible government. An Englishwoman who kept a diary during the siege of Lucknow believed that the 'mutiny' was caused by the general rapaciousness and un-Christian behaviour of the

Englishmen and women. Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader, asked the English working class to support the Indians, while terming it a 'national insurrection'. Poets and public figures such as John Ruskin, Lord Tennyson, Christina Rossetti and Martin Tupper (called 'the English poet of the rebellion') all responded to the events. Novelist Charles Dickens was much exercised over the condition of Englishmen and women (especially prisoners) in India during the events of 1857.[13]

Angry Englishmen, who also contributed to the Mutiny Relief Fund, *demanded* revenge in their letters to newspapers. Lord Macaulay noted this anger in his diary:

> There is one terrible cry for revenge. The account of that dreadful military execution at Peshawur—forty men blown at once from the mouths of cannon, their heads, legs, arms flying in all directions—was read with delight by people who three weeks ago were against all capital punishment ... The almost universal feeling is that not a single Sepoy within the walls of Delhi should be spared; and I own that it is a feeling which I cannot help sympathizing ...
>
> —(Macaulay, 1876)

The *Times* (London) stated soon after the 'mutiny' started in Meerut: 'We have conquered India by British hands, and by them it must be retained' (19 May 1857). Opinions and responses poured into the British press and slowly built up one of the world's largest atrocity-and-response archives. The *Times* alone, between 15 August 1857 and 3 February 1860, carried *one hundred and eight* stories on the 'mutiny', including casualty lists.[14] Tracts such as M.A. Sherring's *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion* (1859) carried lists of 'Missionaries, Chaplains and their Families, killed in the Rebellion, or the cause of whose death may be attributed to it'. Such extensive documentation and commentary enabled the rise of a whole rhetoric, historiography and mythography of the year for the British public.

Contemporary Euro-American responses to the events of 1857 ranged from enthusiastic support for the Indians to sympathy for British suffering. However, even those sympathetic towards the British were rarely uncritical. Trenchant critiques in the *New York Daily News*, *Harper's*, the *United States Democratic Review*, or the *North American Review* often laid the blame for the events of 1857 on the oppressive, exploitative British government. American newspapers such as the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* carried regular news reports on 'the war in India'. Financial contributions to the British cause were also reported, even as the East India Company's stock plummeted (in a news item published on 12 October 1857, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reported a 25 per cent fall). Commentaries in the *Princeton Review* (1880) and the *North American Review* (1886) analysed the social, economic and political implications of British rule in India. One described the events of 1857 as 'a deep-seated and wide-spread rebellion', and hoped that India would soon be 'restored to ameliorated British rule, rather than relapse into a midnight of barbarism' (*Liberty Weekly Tribune*, 4 September 1857, p. 2). A Dr Martin Scudder, lecturing in the United States in January 1865, referred to the events as a 'caste insurrection' and a 'Hindoo Mutiny'. The *Southern Literary Messenger* published a poem titled 'The Martyr Missionaries of Futtehgurrh' showcasing the killing of Christians and missionaries by the sepoys.[15] Others assured their readers that all the horrors they heard about the sepoys' behaviour were true. One newspaper, for instance, mentions a surgeon who had been consulted by an Englishwoman whose nose had been cut off, and whose three-year-old child had had its hands and feet cut off by the 'mutineers' (*Liberty Weekly Tribune*, 4 September 1857, p. 4). Quite a few American commentators in periodicals such as the *St Louis Christian Advocate*, the *Princeton Review* and the *New Englander and Yale Review* pleaded for increased evangelical efforts in India. Decades after the events, American journalists and commentators remained

enthralled and shocked by what had occurred in India. News items often had arresting headlines such as: 'Story of a Survivor of the Indian Mutiny, Now an Insane Patient' (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 20 September 1885). *Appleton's Journal* described the events of 1857-58 as 'the most terrible mutiny in the annals of war' (*Appleton's Journal*, 1, 3 [1876], p. 287). Others objected to the ferocity of British retribution.

Central to this Euro-American narrative of British valour and suffering was the Indian sepoy's treatment of British women.[16] The story of Miss Wheeler was enacted and presented all over the world. However, other accounts—such as Lady Canning's, the 'Memorandum on Treatment of European Females' submitted to Lord Canning in December 1857, and those in American periodicals such as *Catholic World*—disputed this myth of the ill-treatment of British women.[17] Nineteenth-century historians like G.O. Trevelyan and, more recently, Christopher Hibbert also suggest that no such violence against women ever happened.

With the kinds of events that 1857 showcased, it was natural that the year entered the language itself. The year becomes a watershed, and other horrors invariably get measured in terms of 1857's horrors. Thus, an American newspaper, describing the lawless state of Mexico, stated: 'The fact that this region has for the last three years been given over to miscreants whose daily atrocities exceed those perpetrated in the wildest moments of the Sepoy mutiny ...' (*Liberty Weekly Tribune*, 4 October 1861, p. 2).

And when the British government faced a crisis in Shanghai in 1900, the *Daily News*, on 18 June, drew on the 1857 analogy to state: '"The situation," says our Correspondent, "is critical and without a parallel since the Indian Mutiny." Let us hope that the parallel is not going to be pursued.'

Indian responses to 1857 have been equally diverse. V.D. Savarkar glorified it by terming it the 'first war of Indian Independence' (Savarkar, 1909). Savarkar and

nationalist historiography was also instrumental in the canonization of Mangal Pandey—the subject of Ketan Mehta's film in 2005—though there is no evidence that Mangal Pandey's actions in Barrackpore had anything to do with the subsequent actions of sepoys in Meerut or elsewhere, as Rudrangshu Mukherjee has tellingly argued (Mukherjee, 2005). Songs on the events of 1857 glorified the Indian soldiers and mourned the deposing of local kings. The songs were recorded and published in English translation by William Crooke, in the *Indian Antiquary* (1911). Romesh Dutt (1897) saw it as a civil insurrection driven by political reasons. Syed Ahmad Khan (1873) did not consider it a popular movement or uprising, though there was substantial civilian participation. Jawaharlal Nehru considered the events a war of independence in his 1957 essay, 'The Result of the Indian War of Independence' (Norman, 1965: 123). What emerges clearly from even this brief catalogue of interpretations is that there can be no definitive way of defining and labelling the events of the tumultuous year.

The 'mutiny' metaphor and images of savagery continue to figure in the public discourse even in the politically correct twentieth century. When the English cricket team arrived in Kanpur in 1989 for a cricket match, the *Times* (London) made it a point to refer to this setting of the 'mutiny's' more gory events (24 October 1989). When the *Express* (London) reported the Indian cricket team's threat to boycott the third test match in 2001 as a protest against referee Mike Denness's contentious decisions, it titled the news report 'Indian Mutiny Threatens Tour' (24 November 2001, p. 103). The *Independent* (London) compared Britain's exit from the European exchange rate mechanism and the Tory party's fortunes to the execution of mutineers—strapped to the cannon's mouth and fired—and the damage wrecked by mutineers (16 September 2004, p. 14). The events of 1857 evidently continue to figure prominently in Indian and British public imagination. After all, Henry Havelock, the man who 'rescued' Lucknow from the 'mutineers', and once

described in an American periodical as a 'Christian warrior' (*Ladies' Repository*, 22, 1 [1862]: 1–6), still presides over London's famous Trafalgar Square in the form of a statue.

The year 1857 has also entered the literary imagination in a big way. There have been numerous popular fictional accounts of 1857-58, from better-known tales such as Flora Annie Steel's *On the Face of the Waters* (1897), through J.G. Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* (which won the Booker Prize in 1973) to Mahasweta Devi's *The Queen of Jhansi* (English translation, 2000) and Manohar Malgonkar's *The Devil's Wind* (1972). Gurcharan Das's play, *Larins Sahib* (first staged in 1969) is about Henry Lawrence in the Punjab—the same Lawrence who eventually died in the siege of Lucknow.[18]

In more contemporary readings, Gautam Bhadra (1985), in a particularly prescient analysis, suggests that the historiography of 1857 has invariably focused on the elitist character of the leadership of the revolt, and has thus glossed over the role of ordinary rebels. Ranajit Guha pays attention to the smaller insurrections that were triggered by the events of 1857 (Guha, 1983). Badri Narayan in a brilliant essay (1998) also rejects the elitist views of 1857 to track down the popular expressions and configurations of the 'revolt' in Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Bundel, Braj and other folk cultures, while K.S. Singh (1998) tracks the role of tribals such as the Gonds in the 'revolt'. Commentators today seek to explore the varied configuration of the events in an attempt to provide a more balanced interpretation of what happened. Irfan Habib believes that the territorial affiliation of the sepoys may have been a contributing factor for the soldier's alienation from the colonial masters (Habib, 1998). In such a climate of reappraisal, books on 1857 are also examined more critically for ideological and other biases. Thus, in a review of Saul David's book on 1857 (David, 2002), Stephen Howe accuses David of providing only a British point of view and ignoring the savagery with

which the 'mutiny' was put down. Howe writes: 'David's prose is more emotive and evocative when discussing Indian misdeeds, cool and dispassionate when relating British ones' (*The Independent*, 16 October 2002, p. 18).

The debates continue.

The objective of this volume is to present a set of documents on 1857-58. The selections are mainly from works of non-fiction, though, in the case of Indian responses, poems and songs have also been included. They are organized along specific lines. The sources (mainly from English-language works, unfortunately) range from personal accounts by Englishmen and women who lived through the events, to histories and analytical commentaries. I have also used numerous newspaper and magazine accounts—British, European and American—from the period, which are far less known or available. The audience for these published works and newspaper accounts were obviously Englishmen and women back in England and in India.

I have organized the book into two sections. The first section, 'Narratives', is divided into two chapters. The chapter 'Symptoms and Dissent' maps the circumstances of sepoy dissatisfaction in the months preceding May 1857 (when the 'mutiny' actually breaks out). Several Englishmen claimed that they noted indications of unrest among the sepoys. Some had sought government intervention and advised that the sepoys' feelings be assuaged. Extracts in the first chapter record these 'omens', and English unease during the months leading up to May 1857. The second chapter, 'Experiences', includes mostly 'immediate accounts' written under sepoy fire, in hiding, and expecting to meet death at any moment. *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow*, the extracts from R.M. Coopland, Mrs Muter, Lady Inglis and others, capture the British woman's experience of horrific events—and their attempts at domesticity in the midst of

firing, their care of children in forts and places of refuge. This chapter includes descriptions of the 'Cawnpore massacre', escapes, anxiety, Indian leaders and heroism. The extracts here are almost entirely violent, full of rage and suffering (both physical deprivation and pain) and anxiety (witness, for instance, J.R. Colvin's increasingly worried pleas for help from Agra Fort). The second part of this chapter presents the events of 1857 as experienced and recorded by Indians. Munshi Jiwan Lall, a civilian described by Charles Theophilus Metcalfe (who translated and collated the accounts in 1898) as an 'educated native gentleman...closely associated with the court life of the King of Delhi', produced an extended narrative of the events in the palace—much of his account details the durbars of Bahadur Shah and the events—and the king's dealings with the 'mutineers', a narrative that clearly points to Bahadur Shah's *lack* of control over what was happening around him. Another narrative is that of Mainodin Hassan Khan, an inspector of police in Delhi during 1857. Then there are the experiences recounted by native Christians, catechists and their survivors.

The second section, which records 'Responses' to 1857, is divided into British, Euro-American and Indian responses. The chapter on British responses has a short subsection, 'Countermeasures and Reprisals', which extracts documents that capture the intensity of British actions against the 'rebels'. This is followed by the general British response and reaction to the events in India. The British press was inundated with commentaries, letters, analyses and advice on the events in India. There was such a massive response that *Punch* complained: 'The supply of the demand for information on any point in connection with the melancholy subject of the day is quite a legitimate undertaking—but ... can amuse nobody' (*Punch*, 17 October 1857, p. 159). Paintings depicting scenes from the 'mutiny' were exhibited at the Great Globe in Leicester Square, while others such as 'The Prince of Wales Receiving the Survivors of the Defence

of Lucknow' (1876) appeared in magazines such as the *Illustrated London News* (Bayly, 1990). Visual representations of Lucknow, Delhi and other places in the aftermath of the 'mutiny' by artists such as the Italian photographer, Felice Beato, immortalized the damage to buildings and pictured corpses and skeletons, thus contributing to the mythography of the period.[19] This section also includes perhaps the most spectacular—in terms of structure, implications and consequences—of the British responses: the trial of Bahadur Shah Zafar, which marked the official/formal end of the Mughal Empire.[20]

I have chosen to include opinions from the period 1857–1900—except for a brief one from Edward Thompson (1925)—thus automatically excluding analyses and comments from twentieth-century writers such as Savarkar, Nehru, Bose and Gandhi. I have also incorporated as many accounts, letters and reports from contemporary newspapers and periodicals as possible.

The texts indicate the *range* of emotions of people trapped within events over which quite often they had no control. As a supreme example of this, we have Mirza Ghalib's diary, chronicling an old poet's anxieties about the events occurring in his locality and neighbourhood in Delhi. The texts in this volume have been selected for various reasons. Some capture the danger (real or perceived) of the period. Others reveal acts of great courage, kindness, or cruelty. Yet others showcase the anger, sense of betrayal and anxiety of the British in this hour. The responses, likewise, range from the shocked to the explanatory, from the celebratory to the outraged. In some cases—and Edward Thompson's text is an example—the response is also tinged with an anxiety about how the historiography of 1857 affects contemporary life and thought, about how interpretations of the past can affect, or be made to affect, the present. It is easy, with the benefit of hindsight (an exact science), to accuse the native princes, communities or regions of being 'anti-Indian' in their offers of support to the East

India Company during 1857-58, or to eulogize the sepoy as a true 'nationalist'. Labels and meanings are evaluative and judgemental, and proceed from particular locations. Naming is an act of interpretation. That is, the mutinous 'nature' of the events is not a quality inherent in them, but an *attribute* imposed on them through interpretive acts sanctioned by particular communities. The events have to be linked by acts of interpretation to form a coherent narrative. The cause–effect sequence is *established* after the fact/event, and the act of establishment is ideological and structured to suit the need of the moment.

Our 'presentism' imposes contemporary concerns, ideological biases and political needs upon the past. To adapt Nobel Laureate Derek Walcott's description, our servitude to the muse of history has produced, and will continue to produce, a literature of recrimination, a literature of revenge written by descendants of victims or a literature of remorse by perpetrators or masters (Walcott, 1988). We need to be conscious of the fact that reading such a text is never a one-to-one relationship between the twenty-first-century reader and nineteenth-century author/text. We ought to be conscious of the frameworks that make the reading process, and intelligibility, possible.

Notes

1. See Theon Wilkinson, *Two Monsoons* (1976), for an account.
2. For a detailed account of the link between missionaries and the imperial project see Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire* (2003). For accounts of the missionary work in India also see Raymond K. Renford, *The Non-Official British in India to 1929* (1987).
3. In the district of Aligarh, 50 per cent of the land changed hands between 1839 and 1858, while 'the moneylending and trading classes' increased their share of landholding from 3.4 per cent to 12.3 per cent. In Muzaffarnagar district, between 1841 and 1861, a quarter of the land changed hands; and the share of 'non-agricultural classes' in the land increased from 11 per cent to 19.5 per cent (Habib, 1998: 9).

4. The annexation received mixed press in England itself. Several commentators saw the British government's act as being *beneficial* to Awadh's people (see extracts from the letter to the editor of the *Daily News*, 22 March 1856, that follow). Furious arguments against the move were articulated in the House of Commons and continued through 1856. *The Daily News* reported such a debate (1 March 1856). *The News of the World*, when describing the treatment meted out to the Queen of Awadh who had arrived in England to protest against the annexation, savaged the British policy of ambitious annexation (see extract from the *News of the World*, dated 21 September 1856 in 'Narratives'). Earlier this same *News of the World* had opened its ambivalent report (23 March 1856) on the 'little-desired step' of annexation with these words: 'The overgrown Empire of England in the East has just received a further extension in the annexation of the Kingdom of Oude.' In a yet earlier report it described the annexation as a 'necessity' (see extract from the newspaper dated 20 January 1856 in 'Narratives'), an act undertaken in order to prevent the continuing presence of a 'center of permanent anarchy in the very heart of Hindostan' (3 February 1856).
5. For a study of local newspaper accounts, specially in Urdu, and their connection with the spread of dissent see Faruqui Taban (1998).
6. For studies of the British army in India see Omissi (1994), Alavi (1995), and Heathcote (1995).
7. The survivor was Dr William Brydon, whose journey to refuge (Jalalabad) after the Afghan disaster became the subject of a famous painting, 'Remnants of an Army' by Elizabeth Thompson (Lady Butler). Dr Brydon was, interestingly, also one of those caught in the siege of Lucknow. He survived that too!
8. Robert Barr Smith, 'Avenging Cawnpore', *Military History*, 20, 6 (2004): 58–64. A British officer writing about Poland and Russia in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* also mentions the severity of 'retaliative measures' inflicted by European soldiery on Indians after 1857 (Vol. 94 [1863]: 23).
9. There were, as the Indian responses reveal, mixed reactions to the takeover of India by the British crown (see 'Responses'). There occurred serious re-evaluations of Britain's mission in

India, based on specific interpretations of 1857 (see Washbrook, 1997).

10. See Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *Awadh in Revolt* (1984) and other works.
11. There may have been, however, connections between the sepoys' actions and the popular rebellions (as Rudrangshu Mukherjee [1993] demonstrates).
12. A thesis echoed, albeit in a different context, in the twentieth century by Samuel P. Huntington (1996).
13. See Nayder (1992).
14. Such a widespread coverage of atrocities in the British press had occurred once before, during the Company's war with Tipu Sultan. The *Times* carried a regular report on the war and the atrocities of Tipu Sultan (17 January 1785, 13 May 1785, 25 June 1785, 14 September 1785, 16 September 1785, 27 February 1788, 18 July 1791, 1 December 1791, 15 December 1791, 10 February 1792, 9 April 1792, 10 April 1792, 16 July 1792). Reports and comments about the suffering of the English also appeared in the *Annual Register*, while reviews of such narratives of war and suffering also appeared in the *Monthly Review*, *Asiatic Annual Register* and *Critical Review*. The reportage of the 'mutiny' is a repetition of this documentation of British suffering and valour in the Empire.
15. *Southern Literary Messenger*, 26, 4 (1858): 314-15. The *New York Times*, for instance, carried reports updating the Indian 'events' on 6, 14, 15, 17, 24 July 1857; 3, 13, 25 August 1857; 3, 15, 16, 21, 24, 28 September 1857; 7, 23, 26 October 1857; 23, 27 November 1857, 1, 2, 25 January 1858. Other periodicals and serials also carried accounts and opinion columns.
16. See Sharpe (1991), Paxton (1992, 1999) and Blunt (2000).
17. See *Catholic World*, 32, 190 (1881): 497-98.
18. For a bibliographic account of the Indian literature on 1857 see Scholberg 1993. Shailendra Dhari Singh's *Novels on the Indian Mutiny* (1980) is a study of the British fiction on 1857.
19. Beato's work, amounting to twenty-six prints, is available in the Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection at Brown University. On Beato's work, see commentaries and analyses by Chappell (1958), Worswick and Embree (1976), Fraser (1981), Harris (2000), and Masselos (2000). For a collection of 'mutiny'

visuals online, including the 'Cawnpore massacre', see the Hulton Archive at www.editorialgettyimages.com.

20. The trials of Mangal Pandey and Bahadur Shah Zafar were basically *spectacles* that sought to reinforce the image of British power. They must be treated less as legal procedures than as a particular form of colonial narrative that took recourse to the language of law and jurisprudence to enforce discipline, control and visible force. For documents that reveal the rhetorical, discursive features of colonial law within the context of trials and court-martials see G.W. Forrest, *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and Other State Papers Preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India, 1857-58*, 3 vols (1893–1912). Volume 1 includes Mangal Pandey's trial. I have already taken excerpts from the trial of Bahadur Shah Zafar.

NARRATIVES

SYMPTOMS AND DISSENT

Signs that all was not well with the sepoys were visible from early 1857 itself. English officers in the army had become increasingly arrogant and alienated from the men they commanded. Some British officers perceived the disaffection among the unhappy sepoys, and believed that rebellion might be brewing. Some others believed that the sepoys could never turn against their English masters. However, the 'mai-baap' image of the Englishman also survived in no small measure. The Victorian temper of service and stoicism combined with arrogance at the expanding empire. This sense of the glory of an expanding British empire, however, was also pervaded by a feeling of gloom especially after the Afghan campaign of 1841-42.

Several officers noticed discontent but chose to ignore it. Political tensions also ran very high, especially in the aftermath of Dalhousie's annexation policy and the seizure of Awadh. Criticism of the annexation, and British policy in general, appeared in newspapers in Europe and America. Senior officers and bureaucrats such as Henry Lawrence detected signs of unrest and warned that the army might prove to be a threat if the sepoys were not kept happy.

It was during this time that chappatis began to circulate in parts of northern India. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and other officers apprehended some of these, and suspected that the chappatis indicated a code language preparing the

countryside for insurrection. No clear meanings, however, emerged. It was in the context of such tensions that the new cartridges were introduced. Officers such as General Hearsey sought to pacify the visibly upset native soldiery by assuring them that their caste/religion was not in danger from the new Enfield cartridges. Narratives about the first months of 1857 often capture the tensions, ambivalence towards the sepoys, and the sense of foreboding of the English men and women in India.

ROBERT DUNLOP, ***Service and Adventure with the Khakee Ressalah*:**

The weak and childish but cruel and treacherous native character may prevent the mistake of legislating for them for the present at least as our equals. It is not conversion to Christianity and education of the first generation alone which can raise the Hindoostani to a par with the Anglo-Saxon ... It is a patent fact that the proud contempt which the Anglo-Saxon bears to the Asiatic has proved, to a great extent, the salvation of our Indian empire. Nearly all the men come to the country fully prepared to accord equal rights and privileges to its dusky inhabitants; but ... experience leads to a common conviction of their debasement.

—(Dunlop, 1858: 156-57).

LETTER TO THE EDITOR, **'The Annexation of Oude', *The Daily News*, 22 March 1856:**

I venture to address you a few remarks connected with the recent annexation of the kingdom [of Awadh] by Lord Dalhousie ... Even in those days [1800s and during Lord Wellesley's reign] Oude was celebrated throughout Hindostan as being very ill-governed, and the people were ground

down to the earth by every species of tyranny. On the part of the English government, Lord Wellesley bound himself and his successors to protect the king of Oude against enemies from without and rebels from within his dominions ... The vast and undisciplined army of Oude was no longer to be a curse to the country ... Justice was to be administered without corruption, and according to the old Hindoo and Mahometan laws.

Now let us see how far the East India Company has kept faith with the government of Oude, and next, in what way that monarch has respected the terms of that treaty ...

Since then [1801] the Governor-General has maintained an English Resident at Lucknow, and a brigade of English sepoys has always been stationed at the capital ... Whenever aid was required by the government of Oude to put down a disturbance in any part of the kingdom, the same has always been speedily given by the Resident ... In no way whatever has the English Resident interfered with the internal administration of the country ... Badly governed and oppressed as were the people, they would have fared very much worse had no check been imposed on their rulers by the presence of an English Resident. No Governor-General that ever went to India was more averse to annexation of native states than Lord William Bentinck, but he considered it his duty, twenty years ago, to warn the then ruler of Oude, that the English Government, as the supreme power in India, could not put up much longer with the continual oppression of the kingdom ...

Whether such a state of affairs could be allowed to continue, I leave you to determine. The British government had no other alternative except either withdraw altogether from the country, leaving its inhabitants to a still worse fate, or to administer entirely the government of the country ...

Depend upon it that the only class of natives who would cry out against our annexation of Oude is that which consists of persons who will lose when the government of

the country is put upon a proper and just footing by the Governor-General.

(Signed M.N.)

News Item in the *News of the World*, 20 January 1856:

The annexation of the ancient Kingdom of Oude would seem to be a necessity forced upon the Indian government ... there are causes incidental to the Kingdom in question which will be brought under the salutary influence of British rule and under that influence it is certain Oude must yet be brought, and yet at no distant period.

R.M. Coopland, *A Lady's Escape from Gwalior*:

Each regiment had its separate lines and parade ground. They are well paid and handsomely rewarded, have a chance of promotion and of retiring on a good pension; all their fancies are humoured, and their religion and caste are attended to. Even their festival days were kept, and (so far as I saw) their officers always treated them kindly; yet these very men were in a short time butchering their officers in cold blood!

—(Coopland, 1859: 49).

News Item in the *News of the World*, 21 September 1856, reporting the arrival of the Queen of Awadh in England, to plead for justice and against the annexation:

'Our Dark Visitor'

The Queen of Oude ... lately arrived on our shores to prosecute an appeal for justice ... There is surely something

chivalrous in the spectacle of a fallen Princess, coming from the interior of a remote continent, and crossing an ocean she had never seen until she had embarked on it to seek for justice at the feet of the British Throne ... In the first year of the present century, under military coercion, and for the same pretext of maladministration on which we have recently taken the remainder [of Awadh land], we took from the Viceroy 'one-half' of his dominions ... In 1817 the Viceroy lent us a million sterling, and this we paid him back with—the title of Padshah, or King, and a block of jungle which we had just conquered from the Nepalese! Afterwards he lent us, in our need, a couple of millions more ... And, finally, by way of reward, in this present year, being the centenary anniversary of the affair of the Black Hole, we dethroned the King we had made, and seized what had remained of his dominions.

NEWS ITEM in ***Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 82 (1857), pp. 379–80:**

In October and November last [i.e., 1856—Ed.], *before the first introduction of the rifle practice*, the regiment was coming down the river, and encountering a gale, in which three boats were wrecked, *not a single Sepoy came forward to assist the European officers*!

—(Emphasis in the original)

JOHN KAYE, ***History of the Sepoy War in India*:**

It fixed, too, more firmly in the mind of Lord Canning, the belief that a great fear was spreading itself among the people, and that there was more danger in such feeling than in great hatred. Thinking of this he also thought of another strange story that had come to him from the North-West,

and which even the most experienced men about him were incompetent to explain. From village to village, brought by one messenger and sent onward by another, passed a mysterious token in the shape of those flat cakes made from flour and water, and forming the common bread of the people, which in their language are called chapattis. All that was known about it was that a messenger appeared, gave the cake to the headman of one village, and requested him to dispatch it, onward to the next; and that in this way it traveled from place to place; no one refusing, no one doubting, few even questioning in blind obedience to a necessity felt rather than understood ... The greater number looked upon it as a signal of warning and preparation, designed to tell the people that something great and portentous was about to happen, and to prompt them to be ready for the crisis. One great authority wrote to the Governor-General that he had been told that the chapatti was the symbol of men's food, and that its circulation was intended to alarm and to influence men's minds by indicating to them that their means of subsistence would be taken from them, and to tell them, therefore, to hold together. Others laughing to scorn this notion of the fiery cross, saw in it only a common superstition of the country. It was said that it was no unwonted thing for a Hindu, in whose family sickness had broken out, to institute this transmission of chapattis, in the belief that it would carry of the disease. Then, again, it was believed by others ... that the purpose attaching to the circulation [of chapattis] was another fiction that there was bone dust in them, and that the English had resorted to this supplementary method of defiling people ... But whatsoever the real history of the movement, it had doubtless the effect of keeping alive much popular excitement in the districts through which the cakes were transmitted [...] Some saw in it much meaning; some saw none.

—(Kaye, 1875 [1864], Vol. I: 570–72)

CHARLES BALL, ***History of the India Mutiny***:

You might see the sepoy, watchful and tender as a woman, beside the sick-bed of the English officer, or playing with the pale-faced children beneath the veranda of his captain's bungalow. There was not an English gentlewoman in the country who did not feel measureless security in the thought that a guard of sepoys watched her house or who would not have traveled under such an escort, across the whole length and breadth of the land.

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. I: 114)

CAPTAIN J.A. WRIGHT, in George W. Forrest, ***Selections from Letters, Despatches and Other State Papers***:

There appears to be a very unpleasant feeling existing among the native soldiers who are here for instruction, regarding the grease used in preparing the cartridges, some evil disposed persons having spread a report that it consists of a mixture of the fat of pigs and cows ... Some of the depot men, in conversing with me on the subject last night, said that the report has spread throughout India, and that when they go to their homes, their friends will refuse to eat with them. I assured them (believing it to be the case) that the grease used is composed of mutton fat and wax; to which they replied, 'It may be so, but our friends will not believe it. Let us obtain the ingredients from the bazaar and make it up ourselves. We shall then know what is used, and be able to assure our fellow-soldiers and others that there is nothing in it prohibited by our caste.'

—(Wright in Forrest, 1893, Vol. I: 3)

General Hearsey, quoted in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 82 (1857), p. 378:

Though totally groundless [the idea that the cartridges were greased with the fat of cows and pigs], it would be most difficult to eradicate the impression from the minds of native soldiers, who are always suspiciously disposed when any change of this sort affecting themselves is introduced.

Karl Marx, 'The British Rule in India', *The New York Daily Tribune*, 25 June 1853, p. 41:

England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindustan, was actuated only by vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution.

Karl Marx, 'The Future Results of the British Rule in India', *The New York Daily Tribune*, 8 August 1853, pp. 81–87:

The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked. Did they not, in India, to borrow an expression of that great robber, Lord Clive himself, resort to atrocious extortion, when simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity? While they prated in Europe about the inviolable sanctity of the national debt, did they not confiscate in India the dividends of the rajahs, who had

invested their private savings in the Company's own funds? While they combated the French revolution under the pretext of defending 'our holy religion', did they not forbid, at the same time, Christianity to be propagated in India, and did they not, in order to make money out of the pilgrims streaming to the temples of Orissa and Bengal, take up the trade in the murder and prostitution perpetrated in the temple of the Juggernaut? These are the men of 'Property, Order, Family, and Religion' ...

England had to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia ...

The devastating effects of English industry, when contemplated with regard to India, a country as vast as Europe, and containing 150 millions of acres, are palpable and confounding. But we must not forget that they are not only the organic results of the whole system of production as it is constituted.

KARL MARX, 'Revolt in the Indian Army', *The New York Daily Tribune*, 15 July 1857, pp. 130–33:

The revolt in the Anglo-Indian army has coincided with a general disaffection exhibited against English supremacy on the part of the great Asiatic nations, the revolt of the Bengal army being, beyond doubt, intimately connected with the Persian and Chinese wars.

The alleged cause of the dissatisfaction which began to spread four months ago in the Bengal army was the apprehension on the part of the natives lest the Government should interfere with their religion. The serving out of cartridges, the paper of which was said to have been greased with the fat of bullocks and pigs, and the compulsory biting of which was, therefore, considered by the natives as an infringement of their religious prescriptions, gave the signal for local disturbances...

EXPERIENCES

Despite the warnings and portents detected (and communicated) by some officers, May 1857 caught the British unawares. Hearsey and other officers had tried to alleviate the suspicions of the sepoys regarding the cartridges, but with little or no results. The court-martial and subsequent humiliating imprisonment of their comrades added to the sepoys' feeling that the British officer did not care for the native soldier any more. Mangal Pandey's action in Barrackpore was one expression of this anxiety.

The months following May 1857 were traumatic. The bulk of British writings on 1857, expectedly, are narratives of suffering. Killings, arson and looting, near-escapes were the order of the day for most Britishers in India. The British recorded it all: the traumatic waking up to sounds of gunfire, the screams in the streets and courtyards, the sepoys' cries for blood, the siege and, most hauntingly, the injuries to and deaths of loved ones. The accounts are detailed, ranging from military movements to domestic life in conditions of siege. Constituting one of the largest collections of narratives of atrocity in human history, these documents capture the distress, pain, anxiety, courage of a race, empire and administration which was, for most of the time during May–July 1857, unprepared.

The letters and diaries—some written under conditions of great deprivation and danger—record individual and

collective suffering. They also capture the psychological states of a race under siege. These first-hand accounts by the British in India during 1857, the numerous accounts in the *Times* or *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* provide astonishing appraisals of their own responsibility and the natives' 'betrayal'. They speculate on possible courses of action and the long-term effects of 1857. These are records, also, of acts of courage and understanding, of selfishness and generosity. While overwhelmingly angry and bewildered in tone at the events, these documents also represent views of administrators, army personnel and civilians on a range of subjects: the empire, relations between the races, native religion, missionary proselytizing and others.

Native accounts include those by a police officer, Hassan Khan, in the service of the Company, Christian converts and proselytizers, Bholanauth Chunder, a traveller, Myoor Tiwari, who was a witness at Kanpur, Munshi Jiwan Lall and others. Some of these are also narratives of suffering, as in the case of the native Christians. These native accounts include eyewitness descriptions of Indian sepoys' actions, British countermeasures, and the events in Bahadur Shah's court after his installation as 'king'.

This chapter captures the progress of events during 1857, and deals mainly with British and native experiences of events.

BRITISH

Major General J.B. Hearsey, in George W. Forrest, *Selections from Letters, Despatches and Other State Papers*:

[Mangal Pandey] turned his musket muzzle towards his own breast hurriedly, touching the trigger with his toe. The muzzle must have swerved, for the bullet made a deep graze, ripping up the muscles of his chest, shoulder and neck, and he fell prostrate. We were on him at once ... I

then went, accompanied by Major Ross and my two sons amongst the crowd of sepoys ... and assured them that no person should be permitted to interfere with their religion and caste prejudices whilst I commanded them.

—(Hearsey in Forrest, 1893, Vol. I: 112)

JOHN KAYE, ***History of the Sepoy War in India*:**

Court martial of 85 soldiers who refused to use the greased cartridges on 9th May 1857:

Under a guard of Rifles and Carabineers, the Eighty-five were then brought forward, clad in their regimental uniforms—soldiers still; and then the sentence was read aloud, which was to convert soldiers into felons. Their accoutrements were taken from them, and their uniforms were stripped from their backs. Then the armourers and smiths came forward with their tools, and soon, in the presence of that great concourse of their old comrades, the Eighty-five stood, with the outward symbols of their dire disgrace fastened upon them. It was a piteous spectacle, and many there were moved with a great compassion, when they saw the despairing gestures of those wretched men, among whom were some of the very flower of the regiment—soldiers who had served the British Government in trying circumstances and in strange places, and who had never before wavered in their allegiance. Lifting up their hands and lifting up their voices, the prisoners implored the General to have mercy on them, and not to consign them to so ignominious a doom. Then, seeing that there was no other hope, they turned to their comrades and reproached them for quietly suffering this disgrace to descend upon them. There was not a Sepoy present who did not feel the rising indignation in his throat. But in the presence of those loaded field-guns and those grooved rifles, and the glittering sabers of the Dragoons, there could not be a thought of

striking. The prisoners were marched off to their cells, to be placed under the custody of a guard of their own countrymen ...

—(Kaye, 1875, Vol. 2: 51-52)

JOHN NICHOLSON, **quoted in Reginald Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny*:**

When an Empire is at stake, women and children cease to be of any consideration whatever.

—(Wilberforce, 1894: 33)

R.M. COOPLAND, *A Lady's Escape from Gwalior*:

The shadows of the 'coming events' now began to cast a gloom over us, and our calm was slightly ruffled by hearing of some disturbances at Dumdum and Barrackpore, about the cartridges for the Enfield rifle. Government had ordered mutton fat to be supplied by the contractors; but as they used pig's fat and bullock's fat, the sepoys soon found out the cheat, and made a 'row' about 'caste'; however, after a speech from the Brigadier, they quieted down, and we soon ceased to be interested in the affair, thinking it only some trifling explosion about that bugbear, caste. Then we heard of some mysterious affair about some chupatties ...

We still heard some very unpleasant reports; though things had been kept so quiet that we did not hear of the first disturbances at Barrackpore, which occurred on the 28th of January, till the middle of February. We heard ... of the mutinous behaviour of Mungul Pandy, a sepoy of the 34th Regiment ...

We now heard of the hanging of Mungul Pandy and of the incendiarisms at Umballa. Many reasons were assigned

for these disturbances: first, the trumpery of the greased cartridges; and, secondly, the annexation of Oude. But neither of these were the *real* reason ...

It [the 'mutiny'] burst on us at Gwalior like a thunderclap, and paralysed us with horror. We could not help wondering how a plot, known to so many thousands, could so long remain secret, and all things go on quietly as ever ...

It appears now that there has been an attempt at conspiracy for a general rising throughout the country. It is known that it was intended to rise upon all the Europeans and murder them. And now the insurrection has broken out at Lucknow, Meerut, and Delhi, and other places, where there are no European regiments, the English are of course entirely at the mercy of the brutal, treacherous native soldiers; and, as you see, it has been only the presence of two English regiments at Meerut that has saved *any* of the Europeans ...

My husband had often wished to send me to Agra; but he would not desert his post, and I would not leave him. I have often thought since that had I done so he might have escaped, by riding off unencumbered by me ...

I was much struck with the conduct of our servants—they grew so impertinent ...

My husband's rifle was kept loaded (I learnt to load and fire it), as we were determined not to die without a struggle ...

I passed many sepoys idling about the road—as is usual on Sunday. They all saluted me; but I thought I observed a treacherous look on their faces ...

I think Englishmen ought to know what their own countrywomen have endured at the hands of the sepoys; and what we went through that night and the following week, hundreds of ladies suffered all over India ...

My husband went into his dressing room, and I, after undressing and dismissing my ayah, arranged my dress for flight, and lay down. A single lamp shed a ghostly glimmer in the room. Soon afterwards the guns fired—instantly the

alarm bugle rang out its shrill on the still night ... I felt that our death knell had sounded ... My husband opened his door and said, 'All is over with us! Dress immediately.' The ayah and bearer rushed in, calling out 'Fly! The sepoys have risen, and will kill you.' The ayah then quickly helped me to dress. I put on a morning wrapper, cloth jacket, and bonnet, and snatched up a bottle of aromatic vinegar and another of opium from the dressing table, but left my watch and rings ...

After a short time, passed in terrible suspense, the guard of the house suggested that we had better hide in the garden ... It was only postponing our own deaths, as we knew that escape was now hopeless.

At last about a hundred sepoys came to attack Mrs Campbell's house, which was close to our hiding place. We heard them tearing down the doors and windows, and smashing the glass and furniture; they even brought carts into the garden to carry off the plunder; then they set fire to it, and the flames shot up into the clear night air ...

We all stood up close together in a corner of the hut ... The sepoys then began to pull off the roof: the cowardly wretches dared not come in, as they thought we had weapons. When they had unroofed the hut, they fired upon us ... We all rushed out; and Mrs Blake, Mrs Raikes, and I, clasped our hands and cried, 'Mut maro, mut maro' (do not kill us). The sepoys said, 'We will not kill the memsahibs, only the sahib.' We were surrounded by a crowd of them, and as soon as they distinguished my husband, they fired at him. Instantly they dragged Mrs Blake, Mrs Raikes, and me back; but not into the bearer's hut; the mehter's was good enough for us, they said. I saw no more; but volley after volley soon told me that all was over ...

Mrs Kirke ... had that instant seen her husband [Dr Winlow Kirke] shot before her eyes; and on her crying 'Kill me too!' they answered, 'No, we have killed you in killing him.' They spared her little boy; saying, 'Don't kill the butcha; it is a missie baba.' Poor child! His long curls and girlish face saved his life! ...

Oh! how could the bright sun and clear blue sky look on such a scene of cruelty! It seemed as if God had forgotten us, and that hell reigned on earth. No words can describe the hellish looks of these human fiends, or picture their horrid appearance: they had rifled all the stores, and drank brandy and beer to excess ...

[Walking out of Gwalior]: Some of the women had no shoes or stockings; and one tore off pieces of her dress to wrap round her bleeding feet. Mrs Kirke and Mrs Campbell, who had no bonnets, put part of their dresses over their heads, to protect them from the burning rays, the sun ...

India seemed to be rapidly gliding into the hands of its original possessors ...

[In Agra fort]: Our great pleasure, when the weather got cooler, was all meeting on the 'tower' ... SIX OF US WERE WIDOWS, OWING TO THE GWALIOR MUTINY ...

The natives [in Delhi] were all gaily dressed with bright turbans; and they had an impudent, self-satisfied expression on their faces, very irritating to us, when we remembered the merciless and cruel deeds so lately enacted here by their brethren ...

—(Coopland, 1859: 69-70, 76-77, 79, 83-84, 107, 111-12, 116-17, 121, 125–128, 141, 192, 199-200, 253, emphasis in the original)

REGINALD WILBERFORCE, ***An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny***:

'Jack, the General's [John Nicholson—Ed.] here.'

'How do you know?'

'Why, look there; there's his mark!'

The 'there' the fellow-soldier was told to look at was a pair of gallows, each of which was adorned with six hanging mutineers, while close by were several bullock-carts, all filled with sepoys who had revolted, and who were

waiting for their turn ... Few courts-martial were held by Nicholson; his dictum 'the punishment of mutiny is death' obviated any necessity for trial ... Nicholson issued an order that no native should pass a white man riding, without dismounting and salaaming ...

—(Wilberforce, 1894: 38-39)

M.A. SHERRING, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*:

The time came when the Indian Church was to be tried. Suddenly and unexpectedly the fiery ordeal of persecution and martyrdom was presented to it. No time was left for recollection. The danger came like a thief in the night. It fell upon the pastors and their flock. It might perhaps have been predicted that the pastors would remain faithful—would prefer death to the denial of their Lord—but would the native Church likewise be staunch and unyielding? Would it prefer cruel torture and a barbarous death to the abjuration of its faith and the acceptance of a false creed? It was to be seen whether there was any life in the Indian brand of the Church of Christ; or whether it was a dead, sapless, useless member. It was to be seen what Christianity in India really was—a delusion or a reality, a glorious truth or a monstrous fiction and lie ...

It must be remembered that the sin of apostasy was committed by Europeans and East Indians also, and the proportion in which the latter were guilty of it, so far as I have been able to ascertain, greatly exceeded the proportion among native Christians ...

It is impossible to arrive at any accurate computation of the number of native Christians who were killed, or who sank under the troubles and privations of the insurrection. It is an easier matter to ascertain the number of ministers of religion and members of their families who fell ... I have

also added a list of the native Christian catechists and teachers who perished by the hand of the enemy, or from anxiety and sickness. These men should even occupy a high rank amongst the confessors of the Christian Church. Some of them were astonishing instances of the triumph of religion over the cruel fanatical zeal of those who were bent on their destruction ...

For several months after the commencement of the outbreak, the blood of the European flowed like water. Property was spoliated without distinction. It was sufficient that it belonged to the ruling class, or to Christian converts in the country, who were everywhere supposed to be in league with it: no further information was needed to warrant its ruthless and wanton devastation ... Churches, mission-schools, the bungalows, cottages, and household stuff of missionaries and their flocks—all shared in the common and indiscriminate ruin. The object doubtless was to obliterate the European and Christian name from India, to uproot British institution of every character, to destroy the records of Britain's power and pride in the land—to raze to the ground Government buildings, colleges, and missions, to exterminate the foreigners and all his adherents and co-religionists, and to sweep away from the face of Hindustan the vestige of everything not of Hindoo or Mussulman origin.

—(Sherring, 1859: 8, 11, 16-17, 23-24)

LADY INGLIS, *The Siege of Lucknow*:

Our room, which really formed part of the native gaol, was very small, hardly more than a verandah, about twelve feet by six feet, with no doors nor windows, only arches; but we put up screens and curtains, which gave us a certain amount of privacy; and we had an outhouse attached, which we used as a bath-room, a great luxury ...

—(Inglis, 1893: 49)

Captain Birch, quoted in Inglis, *The Siege of Lucknow*:

Nothing was thrown away. The full ration at first starting were a pound of meat and a pound of flour per man; this was reduced to twelve ounces, then to six, and after General Havelock's arrival to four ounces. Women got three-quarters rations, children half. Except for hospital comforts, and here and there private stores, there was little else procurable in the garrison—no bread, butter, milk, vegetables, wine, beer, or tobacco.

—(Birch in Inglis, 1893: 66-67)

***Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 84 (1858), p. 498:**

A true soldier in the highest sense of the term was Henry Havelock. Severe in discipline and rigid in command, he looked for and extracted from all the full performance of their duty. When hardships were to be endured he expected that they should be met without a murmur. Oftentimes regarded as unpitying by his men, he yet ever strove to alleviate their suffering and improve their condition ... He was able to combine the greatest daring with the greatest patience.

Mrs [Dunbar Douglas] Muter, *My Recollections of the Sepoy Revolt*:

[On hearing of the sepoys rising at Meerut]: Was the instrument so carefully sharpened by our Government at its own throat?

The sun rose on a scene changed in a manner words cannot describe. It was not only that it had sunk on a peaceful parade for church and rose on blackened ruins and murdered Christians; it had also sunk on good and kindly

feelings, and now rose on the wildest storm of man's passions. It was mid-day turned black night ...

We felt instinctively that it was a great revolution—a cyclone that had merely its centre at Meerut, destined to sweep with a violence that would startle the world, over the length and breadth of the land ...

Among the fugitives were many who had escaped the massacre at Delhi. Tender women who had sprung down the fortifications amid a storm of bullets—who had waded through rapid rivers, and walked under a sun whose scorching rays cannot be known save by those who have felt them—stealing along paths occupied by a hostile population. What heroism! What endurance, what hair-breadth escapes!

—(Muter, 1911: 20, 23, 61)

WILLIAM MUIR, *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces*:

William Muir to Sherer, 24 September 1857: The native report is that before the palace was evacuated the King [Muhammad Bahadur Shah] poisoned himself—likely enough.

—(Muir, 1902: 111)

Muir to Sherer, 27 September 1857: At last the joyful news! On the 22nd instant the British flag waved over the Palace of the Kings of Delhi ... God be praised for this glorious termination of this arduous struggle.

—(Muir, 1902: 117-18)

Muir to Sherer, 30 September 1857: Things are beginning to brighten so much in all quarters, and the Empire is so unspeakably relieved by its deliverance from that monster incubus at Delhi, the head, heart, front of the rebellion ...

—(Muir, 1902: 130)

GEORGE W. FORREST, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*:

General Hearsey, Commanding Presidency Division, Calcutta: An ill-feeling is said to subsist in the minds of the sepoys, caused by a report spread probably by the Dharma Sabha, a religious Hindu party in Calcutta that it was the design of Government to convert the soldiers to Christianity by force ...

Hearsey ordered a Special Court of Inquiry at Barrackpore to ascertain if the Sepoys had genuine objections to cartridges. On 6th February Byjonath Pandy, asked if he had any objections to the cartridges, said that he felt a suspicion that the [greased] paper might affect his caste. 'My suspicion of the paper proceeds from its being stiff and like cloth in the mode of tearing it; it seems to us different from the old paper in use amongst us.'

Chand Khan: 'It [the paper] was tough, and in burning it, it smells as if there were grease in it.'

Hearsey's report: A perusal of the several statements and opinions recorded in these proceedings clearly establishes in my judgement that a most unreasonable and unfounded suspicion has unfortunately taken possession of the minds of all the native officers and sepoys at this station, that grease or fat is used in the composition of this cartridge paper; and this foolish idea is now so rooted in them that it would, I am of the opinion, be both idle and unwise to even attempt its removal. I would accordingly beg leave to recommend, for the consideration of Government, the expediency (if practicable) of ordering this rifle ammunition to be made up of the same description of paper which has been hitherto employed in the magazines for the preparation of the common musket cartridge, by which means this groundless suspicion and objection could be at once disposed of.

—(Forrest, 1912, Vol. 1: 4, 7, 8-9)

LETTER FROM BENARES dated 14 June 1857, published in the *Englishman*, 4 July 1857:

I visited the plain where the action took place. The only signs of the fight are the marks of bullets in the bells of arms, and on the mud walls of the sepoy's lines. A cannon ball took off the corner of a Hindoo mut and the English soldiers broke the images inside ...

WILLIAM MUIR, *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces*:

J.R. Colvin, Lt. Governor, North-West Provinces to H.H. Greathed, dated Fort Agra 30 July 1857: All keeps quiet here, and well with us. Cawnpore triumphantly occupied by British troops on 18th ...

Your rules for Criminal justice will probably work easily with Brigadier Wilson; justice should now be severe and summary ...

Colvin to General Neill, Cawnpore, dated 3 August 1857: Any escort of Europeans passing up here would have the best effect, and might take away some ladies and children. I can only ask you to mention all this to General Havelock. Our number of helpless persons, women and children, within the walls is very great ...

Colvin to Neill, dated 9 August 1857: We can only repeat again and again that the advance of a Force in this direction is of the most urgent consequence to prevent the country being organized against us and funds being levied by the Rebel power in Delhi ... In the Fort itself we should be glad to have more Artillery officers and men. The provisioning, etc, have all been well cared for. *But as we are running very short of funds ... The Gwalior Mutinous troops are 5 or*

6000 with some 30 guns besides a 3rd class Siege Train ... we could scarcely man more than 3 Battery guns, effectively. But *from* or the *inside*, if they came, they should have a thorough peppering ... Turn back all Sepoys coming up here after their two months' leave. None can be trusted now ...

William Muir to J.W. Sherer, Magistrate at Fatehpur, dated 22 September 1857: There is a great contention between the Hindoos and Mahomedans. The latter accuse the former of not assisting them with the battles with the English.

—(Muir, 1902: 65-66, 70-71, 74-75, 106,
emphasis in the original)

ROBERT DUNLOP, *Service and Adventure with the Khakee Ressalah*:

In the end of February and beginning of March, several of the village watchmen reported at the police stations that they had duly carried out the verbal instructions conveyed to them by the watchmen of the eastward villages and transmitted copies of certain little cakes received from them.

The village watchmen erroneously supposed that these cakes were distributed by order of Government. Their course was traced back from this to the Allyghur district. The watchman of a neighbouring village generally ran into the next with a cake the size of a crown piece in his hand, and intimated to his *comfrere* that 'the orders were' that he should make two, four, or more similar ones and deliver them at once at any village where they had not been received, repeating this order to each. The message, meaningless as it appeared, traveled throughout the country with great rapidity.

The transmission of such little cakes from one district to another is supposed by the Hindoos to effect the removal of

epidemic disease. When cholera broke out in this division, the villagers frequently attached the disease, as they fancied, by some ceremonies to a buffalo, and drove it across the Ganges or into some other village. This latter course frequently caused fighting between the villagers.

It was also found that a similar transmission of cakes had taken place on a former occasion, when a murrain attacked the cattle of the districts bordering Oude, and the disease was supposed to be stayed as soon as the said cakes reached the holy fanes of Hurdwar. The agitation was fostered, and false rumours founded thereon, prejudicial to Government, were almost invariably propagated by Mussulmans, while the transmission of a cake is a purely Hindoo practice. The shape and size of the cakes was that of the common Brahmin 'Pooree.'

The excitement at the time among the Sepoys, and the occurrence afterwards of the mutiny, has led many to connect this cake distribution with our disturbances, but without any sufficient grounds for so doing. It is probable that if any connexion existed it was accidental, and the relationship acknowledged by either designing or ignorant persons was consequent upon the distribution, and did not cause or precede it.

Those, indeed, who have attempted to explain the 'Chupatee movement,' as it is called, to be a sort of 'fiery cross' signal for a united rising, appear to have succeeded in proving little by their own ingenuity. Its real origin was doubtless a superstitious attempt to prevent any return of the fearful visitation of epidemic cholera which devastated the North-West Provinces the year before, and still lingered in scattered spots.

I have often noticed that the courage of the native (unlike that of the European, which rises with his difficulties), is invariably in proportion to his hopes of success; that individuals, if accompanied by an overwhelming force, will frequently do acts of bravery, though they will abjectly submit to destruction without resistance if their assailants

attack with determination and in any but insignificant numbers. Their cruelty to the vanquished is not proportioned to the difficulties they have gone through, the dangers they have encountered, or the resistance they have met, but is often greatest when their victims are most helpless, or their own feeling of security from punishment most complete.

Similar tactics in an inferior sphere may be seen practiced in any of the temple-groves inhabited by monkeys in India. The initiatory manoeuvre to a single combat by one these caricatures of the human or Hindustani species, is a horrible face and a hurried advance of one or two steps towards his opponent. Should this masterly opening of the campaign have the desired effect, and his enemy manifest decided infirmity of purpose, or a desire to retreat, number one pursues his advantage with a commendable energy and vigour, rushing on with a courage bordering on reckless indifference to danger ...

A conquered nation naturally discusses the chances of independence; and the Mussulmans of India, born to intrigue, and possessing an unit of action among themselves which the Hindoos have not, have constantly been engaged in plotting our destruction. All inquiries since the disturbances tend to prove that the fomenters of this mutiny, the inventors and propagators of the falsehoods regarding the greasing of our new cartridges with cow's and pig's fat, and mixing bone dust with flour in bazaars, were Mussulmans ...

The Sepoys, the armed Budmashes of our towns, the predatory tribes, and many of the Mussulmans were rebels or mutineers during the disturbances; on the other hand, most of the Hindoos—the principal Hindoo chiefs as a rule—declared for, and fought faithfully on the side of Government. Some few Mussulmans also showed an extraordinary and persevering attachment to a cause, which must be supposed adverse to all their natural and religious sympathies.

If we have none but European Artillery and regular troops, and enforce most strictly and universally the

disarming orders for all but Europeans and servants of Government, our country will have gained greatly by the disasters which have caused us the loss of so many of our relatives and friends; but if a negligent apathy allows matters to take very much their former channel, we shall not, in another mutiny, have the same assistance from the neutrality of the people, and shall do our best to accomplish Sir Thomas Munro's prophecy, that, 'Ere long, a mutiny of the Sepoy army must take place, which we shall crush; but it will be followed by a rebellion which will crush us.' The conciliation policy, which many carelessly conclude has failed, is the only one which, for a time at least, can prevent our expulsion from the country. It may, however, be, and has been, forced into a folly.

I trust the insight this revolt will give our English friends into the weak and childish but cruel and treacherous native character, may prevent the mistake of legislating for them for the present at least as our equals. It is not conversion to Christianity and education of the first generation alone which can raise the Hindoostani to a par with the Anglo-Saxon. Whatever fireside philanthropists may assert, the truths of metaphysics and physiology are verified in the case of the Asiatic. We can impart ennobling qualities to races by generations of culture, as we impart hereditary excellences by instruction to our aids of the lower animal creation. The murders of English women and children do not, it is to be hoped, require to be attended by mutilation to excite the indignation of Englishmen ...

We have in our enormous empire various distinct tribes, whom, up to the present time, we have in blind confidence kept to guard their native provinces, to rivet the chains of the conquest of their own people. Why should we continue a system so fraught with danger, when the solution of a problem has been given us by Austria, which we can demonstrate so much more completely out here? Why are not the Sepoys of the British Government invariably aliens to the people, and strangers to the country in which they are

employed? It is not our proper policy to amalgamate the races under us, or to mix them in regiments, but to keep the nationality of our tribes as distinct and complete as possible; but then none but recruiting depots of Sikh corps should remain in the Punjab. General service corps of Punjabees would be invaluable in Bengal and Madras; the low castes of Bombay, in Oude or the North-West; while the most mutinous of our Poorbeah corps might, when the country resumed its normal quiet, be our most active and able allies on the Peshawar frontier ...

We have still before us the important work of inflicting a stern and retributive justice on those who have so lately deluged India with English blood. Let us trust that our countrymen, however, those especially who hold the responsible post of Special Commissioners, may not be tempted by the promise of a bastard reputation, to a careless or indiscriminate system of punishment, by which our friends must suffer as well as our foes. They should fearlessly force the truth, as regards native debasement, through the fallacies of philanthropists at home, and as fearlessly protect and defend many of the natives whom it is their duty to support against the folly of sham heroic injustice or severity out here. Let us act as those who know that we are not only servants of the British Government, but ministers of that God to whom justice and mercy, as well as vengeance, belongeth; that we shall all one day stand, our enemies and their victims, ourselves and the men now almost daily sentenced for execution, before an unerring and all-wise Judgement Seat, where the plea of natural or national prejudice will not bar judgement for false stewardship, the term of which judgement extends to eternity.

—(Dunlop, 1858: 24–27, 76-77, 152, 154–61)

L.E. Ruutz Rees, *A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow*:

[Indians] had torn infants from their mothers' breasts, and bayoneted the babes before their eyes ... the floor was still black with congealed blood; and large bunches of long hair, probably torn out [lay on the floor] ... the walls were covered with bloody finger-marks of little babies and children and delicate hands of wounded females.

—(Rees, 1858: 228)

S.H. Batson, surgeon, 74th Native Infantry, in the *Times*, 17 August 1857:

I continued to run along the road towards Karnal. I was again stopped by some ironsmiths who were employed in the Delhi Magazine, when one of them said, 'Sahib, don't fear, come with me to my village, and I will find you food' ... I went with the ironsmiths to their house, and was most humanely and kindly treated, one giving me a dhoti, another a cap, another some milk and native bread. I felt my life was safe, I was much excited and could scarcely speak, they gave me a cot, on which I lay down, but could not sleep. I told these people I was a doctor and in consequence met with much greater attention ... I also heard while at this village that Colonel Ripley was lying wounded at the Ice-pit, near the parade ground. I persuaded the villagers that he was a great personage, and that if they would take him food and water, they would be handsomely requited by the Government for their humanity, they took him food several days ... I quit Badree under the disguise of a Fakir jogi ... This man and his friends dyed all my clothes, and gave me necklaces of beads (Rudraksh) etc, to assume the garb of a fakir myself. After making all preparations to pass as a fakir, I commenced my pilgrimage with him, he took me to

several villages and passed me off as a Cashmere, 'Dadoo Punto, Fakir Jogi'.

J.W. SHERER, *Daily Life during the Indian Mutiny*:

Illness was frightful. Cholera, dysentery, and fever were raging. A most accomplished and agreeable man, a Captain Young, occupied the next tent to me. He went down to dinner one evening at the hotel, which held on with comic pertinacity, and partook of some tinned provisions. The next morning he came out to early tea, but said he felt poorly, and would lie down. He died about noon, and was buried in the evening. An excellent linguist and manager of natives, it would have been his work, had he lived, to keep the road well open to Allahabad. He was to have been a traveling policeman. And Sheehy, too, who came up in our tent, died of cholera. And the case of Brown was a very sad one. When we were at Banda, Mayne heard occasionally from Mr. Lloyd at Humeerpore. This was a place west of Banda, on the Jumna. Lloyd was there with an assistant, and two or more officers of a native regiment, one being Brown. He wrote with courage and submission, but without hope. They were in a pokey hole, whence they had no escape, and they had to wait for the outbreak. They kept a boat at the bottom of the garden, and all stayed together. One day they were at luncheon—the crisis came. Shouts in the air; the noise of feet; muskets firing; the heavy hum of a crowd. They ran down the garden, and took to their boats. Towards night, I think, they put in to shore. They were surrounded. Lloyd and another were carried back ...

That forenoon was certainly one of the noisiest conceivable, where we were. What took place need not be repeated here. Malleson has spoken very plainly about the events at the Subahdar's Tank; and friends of General Mansfield have found great fault with him for saying what

he has said. Camp reports are not of much value, perhaps, by themselves; but where there is other evidence, they may be held corroborative. Certainly there was very much discontent felt. There was a sense of an opportunity lost ...

It was difficult to prevent looting, and, riding into one lane, I found a knot of women in great trouble, who declared they had been made to give up their nose-rings and other jewels; and, moreover, that the culprit was in a neighbouring house. I went with them to find him, and behold! He was one of the new police, who, by simply showing his firelock, had gained complete submission from all parties. He had quite a handful of ornaments about him. Mowbray Thomson had succeeded Bruce in charge of this body, and he took very strenuous measures to prevent further misconduct, so this particular offender was flogged at once, and dismissed from the force.

One incident, however, took place, indicative of the lawlessness which, of course, had a tendency to break out on such occasions; for which I was very sorry. There was a tent-maker, in the bazaar, named Choonee Lal, a man who had throughout taken the British side very loyally, and had been of great service in many ways. Naturally handsome, he had by grain diet and simple habits obtained a certain look of benevolent content, which made one almost believe in that ideal goodness Krummacher and others have attributed to Indian sages. He was sitting, it appeared, on a charpoy, only half dressed, and proposing to come up to camp, when he saw, near his house, two soldiers enter a shop, and compel its keeper to give up his money. Choonee Lal knew English perfectly, and spoke to the men, telling them they were protectors, not oppressors of the poorer citizens.

An aphorism so gentle might have passed, but he unfortunately added that if any officer knew what they were doing, they would be punished. This sounded like a threat, and the knowledge of English, too, was calculated to create some alarm; and so the two fellows turned on their monitor, and one of them, putting his musket absolutely against

Choonee Lal's side, discharged it. The poor body, with face uncovered, and the pleasant smile still lingering in death, was brought to my tent by the murdered man's nephew, who was present when the event occurred—and a truly sad sight it was ...

But the place was not quite free from unpleasant associations, owing to a circumstance which occurred during our occupancy of it. Mr. Gregson and I were present when a noisy crowd approached the bank over-hanging the lower plateau, and we found, in the center of it, two men being roughly handled by some sailors and others. They were really bullock-drivers employed by our side, and, having got wounded, were in search of medical aid. But being ragged chaps, and smeared with dust and blood, they were set down at once, by the lawless party with whom they had fallen in, as rebels. No remonstrance or explanation that Mr. Gregson or I could make was of any avail, and the unhappy fellows lost their lives, and were precipitated head-foremost to the level below. The tumult and confusion prevented us from distinguishing the actual perpetrators of the outrage; and under the circumstances, it seemed scarcely desirable to lay our information before the authorities against men we recognized as members only of the crowd—illegal assembly though it undoubtedly it was.

—(Sherer, 1898: 101, 141–45)

WILLIAM EDWARDS, ***Personal Adventures during the India Rebellion***:

For more than a year previous to the out-break, I had been publicly representing to superior authority the great abuse of the power of the civil courts, and the reckless manner in which they decreed the sale of rights and interests connected with the soil, in satisfaction of petty debts, and the dangerous dislocation of society which was in consequence being

produced. I then pointed out that although the old families were being displaced fast, we could not destroy the memory of the past, or dissolve the ancient connection between them and their people; and I said distinctly, that in event of any insurrection occurring, we should find this great and influential body, through whom we can alone hope to control and keep under the millions forming the rural classes, ranged against us on the side of the enemy, with their hereditary retainers and followers rallying around them, in spite of our attempts to separate their interests. My warning was unheeded; and I was treated as an alarmist, who, having hitherto only served in the political department of the State, and being totally inexperienced in revenue matters, could give no sound opinion on the subject. Little did I think at the time, that my fears and forebodings were so soon to be realized.

The leaders and promoters of the great rebellion, whoever they may have been, knew well the inflammable condition, from these causes, of the rural society in the North-Western Provinces, and they therefore sent among them the chupaties, as a kind of fiery cross, to call them to action. These cakes passed with the most amazing rapidity over the length and breadth of the land. Where they came from originally it is impossible to say, but I believe Barrackpore was the starting point, where large masses of mutinous sepoys were congregated. The chupaties entered my district from the adjoining one of Shajehanpore; a village watchman of that place giving the watchman of the nearest Budaon village two of these cakes, with an injunction to make six fresh ones, retain two for his own, and give the others to the watchman of the next village, who would follow the same course, and continue the manufacture and distribution. I truly believe that the rural population of all classes, among whom these cakes spread, were as ignorant as I was myself of their real object; but it was clear that they were a secret sign to be on the alert, and the minds of the people were through them kept watchful and excited. As soon as the

disturbances broke out at Meerut and Delhi, the cakes explained themselves, and the people at once perceived what was expected of them ...

The news of the success and advance of our troops caused an immediate change in the demeanor of the people towards ourselves. We received congratulatory visits from the Thakoors; old Kussuree also, whom we had not seen since we left Kussowarh, came to visit us in state on an elephant, and brought us sweet cakes, which were most acceptable. Hurdeo Buksh sent his brother-in-law to inquire after our welfare; Probyn's goats were sent to him...In short, our position was much improved. It was not, however, quite clear that our visitors were altogether pleased at the news of the Nana's defeat. We took advantage of this turn in feeling to entreat Hurdeo Buksh's brother-in-law to procure permission for us to return to Kussowarh. This request, the brother-in-law assured us, would be immediately granted, as there was nothing to fear from the terror-stricken sepoys in Futtehgur.

We were particularly desirous to return, in consequence of the state of the poor little baby who was rapidly sinking in consequence of all his hardships and exposure; and we feared that if he died in Runjepoorah, it would be impossible to get a dry spot in which to bury him; all the county around the village being flooded to a considerable depth, except the sites of the houses.

On Saturday the 26th we heard that we might return at nightfall to Kussowarh. A boat was in the afternoon sent to take off Mrs. Probyn and the children; for the waters were now deep enough between Dhurumpore and Runjepoorah. An elephant was also sent to assist in carrying us off. The Probyns went in the boat, and I and Wuzeer Singh on the elephant. This was the first time I had ever ridden one of these animals astride and bare-backed, and as we had to go through deep water and mud, half-wading, half-swimming, it was no easy task to stick on. We felt it a most blessed deliverance getting away from Runjepoorah, and were really

in a state of cheerful excitement on reaching, about 9 PM, our old quarters, where we were received by Kussuree. The place had immediately on our departure, and until within a few hours before our return, been occupied by the cattle, so our quarters were as filthy and disagreeable as when we first came to them from Dhurumpore; but filthy as they were, we looked upon them as most comfortable and commodious, after our sufferings during the previous fortnight at Runjepoorah.

The poor little baby was by this time much exhausted, and breathing very hard. His mother whose unceasing care and devotion had been the means of keeping him alive hitherto, procured after much difficulty some water for a warm bath for him, which seemed to restore him; she then laid him down on a charpoy and lay down beside him. She was perfectly exhausted, having had no rest for several nights previously, during which she had to keep him in her arms, and she soon fell asleep. I was lying down at some little distance, and suddenly missing the heavy breathing, went up to the bed to look at the child: all was still, and the little spirit had fled. I woke up the parents, who, although in deep grief at losing their sweet child, felt thankful that its death had been natural, and not by the hands of assassins. We all knelt down, and prayed beside the little body; and then I went out with Wuzeer Singh, about 2 o'clock in the morning, to look for a dry spot where we might dig a grave for him. This was a matter of some difficulty, but at last we found a spot under some trees, which was not inundated, nor likely to be so. When all was prepared, the poor father took the little body wrapped in a sheet in his arms, and Mrs. Probyn followed leaning on my arm.

—(Edwards, 1858: 14–16, 128–31)

SURENDRA NATH SEN, ***Eighteen Fifty Seven*:**

Foreign Secret Consultations, No. 353, 31 July 1857, No. A of 1857

A

Translation of a Khureetah of the Ranee of Jhansee to the address of the Commr. And Agent Lieutenant Governor, Saugor Division dated (supposed) 12th June 1857.

After compliments. States that the Govt. forces, stationed at Jhansie, thro' their faithlessness, cruelty and violence, killed all the European Civil and Military Officers, the clerks and all their families and the Ranee not being able to assist them for want of Guns and soldiers as she had only 100 or 50 people engaged in guarding her house she could render them no aid, which she very much regrets. That they the mutineers afterwards behaved with much violence against herself and servants, and extorted a great deal of money from her, and said that as the Ranee was entitled to succeed to the Reasut, she should undertake the management since the Sepoys were proceeding to Delhi to the King.

That her dependence was entirely on the British authorities who met with such a misfortune the Sepoys knowing her to be quite helpless sent her messages thro' the Tehseeldar of Jhansie, the Revenue and Judicial Seristadars of the Deputy Commissioner's and Superintendent's Courts to the effect that if she at all hesitated to comply with their requests, they would blow up her palace with guns. Taking into consideration her position she was obliged to consent to all the requests made and put up with a great deal of annoyance, and had to pay large sums in property, as well as in cash to save her life and honour.

Knowing that no British Officers had been spared in the whole District, she was, in consideration of the welfare and protection of the people, and the District, induced to address Perwannahs to all the Govt. subordinate Agency in the shape of Police &c. to remain at their posts and perform their duties as usual, she is in continual dread of her own life and that of the inhabitants.

It was proper that the report of all this should have been made immediately, but the disaffected allowed her no opportunity for so doing. As they have this day proceeded towards Delhi, she loses no time in writing.

B

Translation of a Khureetah from the Ranee of Jhansee to the address of the Commissioner and Agent Lieutenant Governor, Saugor Division dated the 14th June 1857.

After Compliments. States that on the 12th June she addressed the Commissioner on the subject of the awful events which have transpired in Jhansee and sent the Khut by Gungadhur Daugee and Bhowanee Hurkara. That she still continues to regret the fate of the Europeans of Jhansee and is convinced that greater cruelties could not have been enacted in any other place—detailed narrative of them is annexed to the Khureeta.

The further news since is that in all the Elaquas subordinate to Jhansie the Chiefs have taken possession of the Gurhees, while others are plundering the Country. That it is quite beyond her power to make any arrangement for the safety of the District as the measures would require funds, which she does not possess, nor will the Mahajuns in times like these lend her money. Up to the present time after selling her own personal property and suffering much inconvenience she has managed to save the town from being plundered and has kept up the form of the late Govt. She has entertained many people for the protection of the Town and Mofussil outposts, but without a competent Govt. Force and funds she sees the impossibility of holding on any further, she has therefore written out some remarks on the state of the district which is also sent herewith and trusts she may early be favoured with orders which she will see carried out ...

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Translation of a Khureetah from the Commissioner Saugor Division to the Ranee of Jhansee dated 2nd July 1857.

After Compliments—I have received your letters of 12th and 14th of June sent by your Hurkaras Bhuwanee and Gungadhur, and have understood the contents.

I hope very soon to be able to send Officers and Troops to restore order in Jhansee, and European Troops are being rapidly sent up the Country to the disturbed districts but until a new superintendent arrives at Jhansee, I beg you will manage the District for the British Government collecting the Revenue, raising such Police as may be necessary and making other proper arrangements such as you know the Government will approve, and when the Superintendent takes charge from you, he will not only give you no trouble, but will repay you for all your losses and expenses, and deal liberally with you.

I send you a Proclamation with my seal and signature, both in Persian and Hindee, announcing that you will until further orders rule the District in the name of the British Government and calling on all to pay you the Revenue and obey the orders.

You may depend on my word that order in all parts of India will soon be restored now that the Mutineers and Rebels who collected at Delhi have nearly all been killed in battle, or plundered and murdered by villagers or hung by the Government Officers in different places.

I enclose you a copy of the Proclamation I issued on hearing of the taking of Delhi.

The Kings and other great men who caused these disturbances did so in the hopes of benefiting themselves and not to benefit you or the people of the Country but they are now in confinement and the wicked who are permitted to live a short time longer bitterly repent their foolish and wicked conduct.

I also send you a copy of a letter I wrote to you on the 23rd ultimo, which you may not have received.

Proclamation For Jhansee

Be it known to all people belonging to, or residing in the Government District of Jhansee, that owing to the bad

conduct of the Soldiers some valuable lives have been lost, and property destroyed, but the strong and powerful British Government is sending thousands of European Soldiers to places which have been disturbed, and early arrangements will be made to restore order in Jhansee.

Until Officers and Troops reach Jhansee, the Ranee will rule in the name of the British Government and according to the Customs of the British Government and I hereby call on all great and small, to obey the Ranee, and to pay the Government Revenue to her, for which they will receive credit.

The British Army has retaken the city of Delhi and has killed thousands of rebels, and will hang or shoot all the rebels wherever they may be found ...

Cons. No. 179
No. 317
Copy of Service Message received by Electric Telegraph

From Major R.R.W. Ellis, Pol. Asstt. for Bundlecund & Rewah

Nagode June 26 via Mirzapore June 29, Monday 8/25 P.M.

Cons. No. 266
Foreign Political Consultations, No. 266, 30 Dec., 1859 (Supp.)

Translation of a Khureetah from the Ranee of Jhansee to the Agent Governor General for Central India dated 14th Jamadeeoolawul A. H. 1274 corresponding to 1st January 1858.

After compliments. To narrate all the strange and unexpected occurrences that took place during your absence from India is a painful task. I cannot describe the troubles and hardships I have suffered during this period. Your return to India gives me a new life. I take this opportunity to give you a brief statement of my history. At the time when the British forces mutinied at this place and plundered me of my

property, and when the Chiefs of Dutya and Oorcha commenced their career of coercion and rapine, I lost no time in writing to the British Officers as per margin, and gave them detailed information as to the state of the country, some of the bearers of these letters are missing, others being plundered before reaching their destination came back to Jhansee, those that were sent to Agra returning stated that they succeeded in sending the letters within the Fort of Agra through a Bhiestee, that their life being not safe they did not wait for a reply. Major Ellis informed that my letters were referred to the Officer that was acting for Captain Skene. I got a letter from the Commissioner through the Chief of Goorsaray dated 23rd June, stating that I should take charge of the District. Another communication from the same Officer dated 10th July in reply to my three letters was also received, it referred me to his former communications in which a proclamation putting me in charge of the District was said to have been enclosed. On the 29th July, I wrote back in reply stating that I had not received the proclamation.

2. Taking advantage of the disturbed state of the Country, the Chiefs of Dutya and Oorcha first took possession of the district of Jhansee Illaka that lay on the borders of their respective states, both to the East and West.

3. On the 3rd September (both these Chiefs acting in concert) the Forces of Oorcha composed of the Thakoors and relations of the State, and amounting to 40,000 men with 28 Guns, invaded Jhansee itself and made other Chiefs support them. Altho' the two letters received by me from the Commissioner was sent to Nuthey Khan for his perusal, yet he took no notice of them. On this, I again wrote to the Commissioner who told me in reply (by letter dated 19th October) that British forces were assembling at Jubbulpore—That he will come to Jhansee and examine the conduct of all either high or low and deal with them accordingly. In the meantime I tried my best by selling my property, taking money on Interest—collected a part of men and took steps to protect the City, and to meet the invading force. The

enemy by firing guns, matchlocks and rockets (Ban) did much mischief and killed thousands of precious Souls, my resources failing, I wrote on the 20th September and 19th October for reinforcements. After two months the besieging force retired to a village Koma situated about 3 miles from Oorcha, all the districts that were formerly occupied by the Chief of Oorcha are still in his possession. In the same manner the Ranee of Dutya still holds all the districts that fell into her hands. The authorities at Oorcha and Dutya do not give up these places, the troops sent to reoccupy them meet with opposition.

4. As was the case in former days the Pawars and Mawasas are excited to ruin by rapine and plunder the remaining districts.

5. Under these circumstances I can never expect to get rid of these enemies and to clear myself of the heavy debts without the Assistance of the British Government.

6. The Commissioner seems not prepared to move for my help as he states in his letter dated 9th November that the services of the British troops for the present are required at his quarter. As these short sighted individuals seem unmindful of the British supremacy and do their best to ruin myself and the whole country, I beg you will give me your support in the best way you can, and thus save myself and the people who are reduced to the last extremity and are not able to cope with the enemy.

—(Surendra Nath Sen, 1957: 296–306,
emphasis in the original)

Copy of a Letter dated 18 May 1857 from a young lady who escaped from Delhi, *The Englishman*, 4 July 1857:

Monday morning the 11th of May, was quiet as usual, and we were dressing for the day, when we heard a sudden fearful shouting outside. It proceeded from the 54th Regiment N[ative] I[nfantry] on their way to the city, their officers

leading them, a report having come that the Native Cavalry from Meerut had entered the city, and were killing the inhabitants. Colonel Ripley immediately ordered out the regiment to oppose them. My brother dressed quickly, not knowing what was the matter, and hastened to join his company. I never saw him again. Presently a carriage came for me, and I was told to get in quickly. I had no time to save anything. We drove about from one place to another, and then to the Flag Staff guard, where we remained until we found our only safety would be in flight. No one could get news from the city, but some gentlemen who escaped immediately told us that men, women and children were being killed ... We were anxiously watching from the Flag Staff Guard, expecting every instant the enemy would come and kill us. Therefore the magazine was blown up by Lt. Willoughby, who saw he could not save it from falling into the hands of the sepoys, and the poor fellow has blown up himself with some hundreds of the wretches ... At this time something was being brought up the hill, which was a cart filled with dead bodies. The sepoys looked into the cart, and then at our anxious faces and laughed. Oh merciful God, grant that their retribution may be awful. After the cart came, we lost all hope, and fled to our carriages and came away. The trials on the road have been very great. The Natives were very turbulent and hostile. Many a lady had to walk with bare feet and bleeding, and at other times we had to hide under bushes to escape. One lady went mad, but what became of her I cannot say ... The European soldiers are burning with revenge, and they say that they will have no pity on the wretches. God grant them success.

Captain Mowbray Thomson, *The Story of Cawnpore*,

Proclamation, city of Delhi, 6 July 1857:

To all Hindoos and Mussulmans, Citizens and Servants of Hindostan, the Officers of the Army now at Delhi and

Meerut send Greetings. 'It is well known that in these days all the English have entertained the evil designs, first to destroy the religion of the whole Hindostani army and then to make the people Christians by compulsion. Therefore we, solely on account of our religion, have combined with the people, and have not spared alive one infidel, and have re-established the Delhi dynasty on these terms, and thus to act in obedience to orders and receive double pay. Hundreds of guns and a large amount of treasure have fallen into our hands; therefore it is fitting that whoever of the soldiers and people dislike turning Christians should unite with one heart and act courageously, not leaving the seed of any of these infidels remaining. For any quantity of supplies delivered to the army the owners are to take the receipts of the officers; and they will receive double payment from the imperial Government. Whoever shall in these times exhibit cowardice, or credulously believe the promises of those imposters the English, shall very shortly be put to shame for such a deed; and, rubbing the hands of sorrow, shall receive for their fidelity the reward the ruler of Lucknow got. It is further necessary that all Hindoos and Mussulmans unite in this struggle, and, following the instructions of some respectable people, keep themselves secure, so that good order may be maintained, the poorer classes kept contented, and they themselves be exalted to rank and dignity; also, that all, so far as it is possible, copy this proclamation, and dispatch it everywhere, so that all true Hindoos and Mussulmans may be alive and watchful, and fix in some conspicuous place (but prudently to avoid detection), and strike a blow with a sword before giving circulation to it. The first pay of the soldiers of Delhi will be 30 r. per month for a trooper; and 10 r. for a foot-man. Nearly 100,000 men are ready, and there are 13 flags of the English regiments and about 14 standards from different parts now raised aloft for our religion, for God, and the conqueror, and it is the intention of Cawnpore to root out the seed of the Devil. This is what we of the army here wish.'

Not to be outdone the Nana Sahib, temporarily in power at Cawnpore [Kanpur], also issued a proclamation:

'It has been ascertained from a traveller who has lately arrived at Cawnpore from Calcutta, that previously to the distribution of cartridges for the purpose of taking away the religion and caste of the people of Hindostan, a council was held, at which it was resolved that, as this was a matter of religion, it would be necessary to employ 7,000 or 8,000 Europeans, and to kill 50,000 Hindostanees, and then all Hindostan would be converted to Christianity.'

A petition to this effect was sent to Queen Victoria and the opinion was adopted. A second council was then held, to which the English merchants were admitted, and it was agreed that, to assist in carrying out the work, the same number of European soldiers should be allowed as there were Hindostanee Sepoys, lest, in the event of any great commotion arising, the former should be beaten. When this petition was perused in England, 35,000 European troops were embarked in ships with the utmost rapidity and dispatched to India. Intelligence of their dispatch was received in Calcutta, and the gentlemen of Calcutta issued orders for the distribution of cartridges. Their real object was to make Christians of the army fall under the idea that when this was done there would be no delay in Christianizing the people generally. In the cartridges the fat of swine and cows was used. This fact was ascertained from Bengalees who were employed in making the cartridges; one of these men was put to death and the rest were imprisoned. Here they were carrying out their plans. Then the Ambassador of the Sultan of Constantinople at the Court of London sent information to the Sultan that 35,000 English troops were to be dispatched to India to make Christians of that country. The Sultan send a firman to the Pasha of Egypt to the effect that he was colluding with Queen Victoria; that this was not a time for compromise; that from what his ambassador sent it appeared that 35,000 English soldiers had been dispatched to India to make Christians of the

people and soldiers of that country; that there was still time to put a stop to this; that if he was guilty of any neglect in the matter, what kind of a face would he be able to show to God; that if the English succeeded in making Christians of the people of Hindostan, they would attempt the same in his country. On the receipt of this firman of the Sultan, the Pasha, before the arrival of the English troops, made his arrangements and collected his troops at Alexandria—for that is the road to India—and on the arrival of the English army the troops of the Pasha of Egypt began firing on them with cannon from all sides, and destroyed and sank the ships so that not a single Englishman of them remained. The English at Calcutta, after issuing the order for biting the cartridges and the breaking-out of this now spreading mutiny and rebellion, were looking for assistance from the army coming from London; but God, by the exercise of His Almighty power, settled their business there. When the intelligence of the destruction of the army of London was received the Governor General felt great grief and beat his head. At the beginning of the night murder and robbery were contemplated; in the morning the body had no head, nor the head any covering! In one revolution the sky became of the same colour; neither Nadir nor Nadir's Government remained ...

—(Thomson, 1859: 142–46)

Henry Lawrence's speech, 12 May 1857, in the *Bombay Times*, 23 May 1857:

It is a lie to say that the English government interferes with the religion of Mahommedans and Hindoos. Under the Mahommedan rule Hindoos were taxed, and slaughtered and converted by violence and force—bullocks' flesh was crammed down their throats. Why, how many here now know, there are tens and thousands of men, whose forefathers

were forcibly converted ... But has the British government done these things? No. These villains, who enjoy liberty of worship under the English, have the audacity to accuse the English of doing that which Mussalman and Sikh used to do when they had the Government. But all know it's a lie. We have never interfered with any men's religion.

The Englishman, 8 June 1857:

In times like the present, it becomes the duty of every Englishman to speak out of his mind, and that plainly speak out of his mind, and with due respect to the head of the Government, pointing out as far as his individual knowledge goes, the causes which have created this general disaffection throughout the whole body of the native soldiery. But rest assured that this mutinous spirit is not partial, but positively and assuredly general. It has been generating for some years past, in the heart of the native population, both Hindoos and Mussalmans and neither time nor change will now eradicate the hatred which has burst forth under the question of the detested cartridges.

EDITORIAL, *The Englishman*, 4 July 1857:

At present we cannot give even a probable guess at the numbers of our slaughtered countrymen and countrywomen, for many supposed to have been murdered, have escaped, and others reportedly safe, have undoubtedly perished. Station after station where the native soldiers are not restrained by the presence of British troops, has been the scene of plunder and incendiarism and assassination. The honourable and true hearted soldiers of the native army have vowed obedience one hour, and the next have massacred their own officers at the mess table ... While he regards

such treachery, such bloodthirsty and unprovoked cruelty with horror, it is consolatory to find the spirit of British soldiers great as ever, rising triumphant amidst the difficulties by which they are surrounded ... This spirit is a sure guarantee for the complete re-establishment of British supremacy throughout the land.

The Friend of India, 28 January 1858:

I should not at all be surprised, either to find that a very deep and secret enmity exists among the independent princes of Central India. They are neither ruined by annexation; nor are they free from dread of it; and this excitement and uncertainty is kept up most favourable to the growth of inimical feelings. No doubt these rajahs have the fullest information of all going on in Barrackpore and elsewhere, through the medium of their vakeels in Calcutta, and perhaps rejoice to see it so that it requires no great soothsayer to discover how this mischief could be spread, if once matters took an unfavourable turn towards the Government in any respect, either in this country or out of it.

CHARLES BALL, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, quoting Sir Hugh Rose's address to the troops after the fall of Kalpi:

Head-quarters, Camp, Calpee, 1st

'Soldiers!—You have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns. You have forced your way through mountain passes, and into the jungles, and rivers. You have captured the strongest forts, and beaten the enemy, no matter what the odds, whenever you met him. You have restored districts to the government; and peace and order now exist, where before, for a twelve-

month, were tyranny and rebellion. You have done all this, and you never had a check. I thank you with all sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline. When you first marched, I told you that you, as British soldiers, had more than enough of courage for the work which was before you, but that courage without discipline was of no avail; and I exhorted you to let discipline be your watchword. You have attended to my orders. In hardships, in temptations, and dangers, you have obeyed your general, and you have never left your ranks; you have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenseless—of foes as well as of friends. I have seen you, in the ardour of the combat, preserve and place children out of harm's way. This is the discipline of Christian soldiers, and it is what has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and establishes, without doubt, that you will find no place before which the glory of your arms can be dimmed.'

—(Sir Hugh Rose quoted in Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 348-49)

MRS ADELAIDE CASE, *Day by Day at Lucknow*:

There is not one hole or corner where one can enjoy an instant's privacy ... The coming and going, the talking, the bustle and noise, inside as well as outside, the constant alarming reports, and at times the depressed expression on some of the countenances baffle all description ...

What would be the feelings of any lady suddenly transported from quiet, peaceful England to this room, around which the bullets are whizzing, the round shot falling, and now and then a loud explosion, as if a mine were blowing up which I think is almost worse than all the ... fire of musketry. It is an awful time ... The nights are

dreadful. One looks forward so anxiously for the first ray of daylight. Then the day arrives with no news of our relief. One's heart sickens at all this delay, and knowing nothing of what is going on outside the gates.

—(Case, 1858: 22)

CHRISTOPHER HIBBERT, *The Great Mutiny India 1857*, **quoting Lord Canning on the Rani of Jhansi:**

She [the Rani of Jhansi] used to dress like a man (with a turban) and rode like one ... Not pretty, & marked with smallpox, but beautiful eyes and figure. She used to wear gold anklets, and Sindia's pearl necklace, plundered from Gwalior (Sindia says its value is untold). These when dying she distributed among the soldiery when taken to die under the mango clump ... The infantry attacked the cavalry for allowing her to be killed. The cavalry said she would ride too far in front. Her tent was very coquettish. Cheval Glass [Books and Pictures and Swing]. Two maids of honour rode with her. One was killed, and in her agony stripped off her clothes. Said to have been most beautiful.

—(Hibbert, 1978: 375)

CAPTAIN MOWBRAY THOMSON, *The Story of Cawnpore*:

A second boat got away from the ghat, and, while drifting, was struck by a round shot below the water-mark, and was rapidly filling when she came alongside and we took off the survivors. Now the crowded state of our poor ark left little room for working her ... Grape and round shot flew about us from either bank ... Mrs Swinton ... was standing up in the stern, and, having been struck by a round shot, fell overboard and sank immediately. Her poor little boy, six

years old, came up to me and said, 'Mamma has fallen overboard' ... I never saw the child after that ... The wounded and the dead were entangled together in the bottom of the boat; to extricate the corpses was a work of extreme difficulty, though imperatively necessary from the dreaded consequences of the intense heat ... A bullet struck the side of my head, and I fell into the boat...

—(Thomson, 1859: 168-69)

COLIN CAMPBELL, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*:

Never was devised a blacker scheme than that which Nena Sahib had planned. Our miserable countrymen were conducted faithfully enough to the boats—officers, men, women, and children. The men and officers were allowed to take their arms and ammunition with them, and were escorted by nearly the whole of the rebel army. It was about eight o'clock a.m. when all reached the riverside—a distance of a mile and a half. Those who embarked first pushed off from the shore; but others found it difficult to get their boats off the banks, as the rebels had placed them as high as possible. At this moment the report of three guns was heard from the Nena's camp. The mutineers suddenly levelled their muskets, guns opened from the banks, and the massacre commenced. Some of the boats were set on fire, volley upon volley was fired upon the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed on the spot ... A few boats crossed over to the opposite bank, but there a regiment of native infantry (the 17th), just arrived from Azimghur, was waiting for them; and in their eagerness to slay the 'Kaffirs,' rode their horses belly deep into the river to meet the boats, and hack our unhappy countrymen and women to pieces.

—(Campbell, 1858: 112)

ANONYMOUS (SAMBHU CHANDRA MUKHERJEE), ***The Mutinies and the People*, quoting the *Quarterly Review*:**

It is principally to the fidelity and prudence of native princes and native statesmen that we owe the tranquility of a great part of Central and of Southern Indian as it is to the courage and faithfulness of two Sikh chiefs, the Raja of Patiala, and of Jheend, that we owe the opportune aid of our first Sikh levies ... No one acquainted with the course of recent events, will be inclined to doubt that we owe the maintenance of our rule in India to the fidelity of certain of the native princes such as the Nizam of Deccan, Scindia, Holkar, and the Raja of Patiala. Had either of them openly declared against us, no Englishman would probably have remained in the Peninsula.

—(Anonymous, 1859: 62)

***The Daily News*, 22 June 1886, on the death of Maharaja Scindia:**

On the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny Scindia remained faithful to the British connection, but the contingent furnished by him to assist his suzerain mutinied, and the revolted troops obtained possession of the fortress at Gwalior ...

CHARLES BALL, ***History of the India Mutiny*:**

His [Tatya Tope's] execution was announced to take place [at Sipri] at 4 p.m. on the 18 [April 1859] ... A considerable number of natives were scattered all over the plain; and any little elevation commanding a view of the scaffold was thickly studded with white clad spectators ... Major [Richard]

Reade read the charge ... and the sentence, that he be hanged by the neck until he was dead. The mistree then knocked off the leg irons. He mounted the rickety ladder with as much firmness as handcuffs would allow him; was then pinioned and his legs tied, he remarking that there was no necessity for these operations; and he then deliberately put his head into the noose, which being drawn tight by the executioner, the fatal bolt was drawn ... After the troops left, a great scramble was made by officers and others to get a lock of hair.

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 602)

N.A. Chick, *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*, quoting Mrs Wood (n.d.):

Dr. Wood was wounded, and I ran down on foot to meet him, having previously sent for him to the tower as being safer. Mrs. Peile, the lady who shared with us all our hardships, was by the kindness of a friend, put into a buggy which I also occupied. When I reached Dr. Wood, there happened to be a hospital-doolee near, into which he was assisted, as I thought he would get along easier in it than any other conveyance. We proceeded a short way, when the bearers put him down, refusing to go further. Here he got into the palanquin carriage I had fortunately ordered to follow him, and at last started for Kurnaul, bidding adieu to Major Patterson and Mr. Peile, the last ladies on the Delhi parade ground, as the delay in changing Dr. Wood's conveyance several times caused us to be long after all the other ladies, and officers too, in leaving the station. We had proceeded only ten miles, when the villagers came out upon us and tried to stop us, a syce at the same time coming up to us and telling us if we went on ahead we should be killed as the villagers were awaiting us on the road. Here even violence was threatened, as our horses were seized and

swords drawn, I think, on my syce: we however got away from them, and resolved on returning to the Company's garden to hide ourselves there, if possible, till next day.

This we did, and the mally promised to shelter us. Ere very long, however, a band of some forty or fifty fellows rushed upon us with *latees*, demanding all we had; to resist was vain; two helpless women amongst a band of savages. Dr. Wood was too severely wounded to be able to speak or move. Mrs. Peile and I had each a box of our little valuables and jewels with us, which we hoped to save, besides I had in cash 100 rupees. Our hopes proved vain, for they robbed us of all, taking as well Mrs. Peile's cloak and bonnet, and my dress and two sheets literally soaked in blood, breaking up our conveyances and riding off with the horses. Band after band followed till, in truth, they found that we were actual beggars, and would you believe it, one of these savages who came to rob us had white kid gloves on and a *lattee* in his hand. About 1 o'clock in the morning we left the garden, Dr. Wood laying down beneath a tree, whilst Mrs. Peile and I went in search of a village. After much persuasion, a Zemindar took us in, sheltered and gave us milk and bread till next night, when we started on foot for Kurnaul. We traveled on in this way by night at the rate of seven miles a night, dragging a wounded man between us, begging food from village to village, and sleeping on the bare ground. We met with kindness at some places, but at others insult and unkindness in every shape, being refused even shelter from the heat of the sun. Thus we passed six weary days, three of which we passed in the sun below trees and bridges, having had our lives threatened, running short of water, and always being consoled by the intimation that we would never escape the king's sowars. The sixth day brought us to Balghur, the Ranee Mungla Dabee's village. Here we received much kindness from the Ranee who promised to protect us, but the second day of our stay with her dashed all our hopes again, for we found that the Ranee's own people were displeased with what she had

done for us, and threatened to destroy her own village, if she did not send us away. This was sad news for us, but we were helpless, and had decided on starting again, when night came on. In the meantime, however, a little comfort was in store for us by the unexpected, but most welcome, arrival of Major Paterson, wounded and foot-sore and tired. In two hours more Mr. Peile was also welcomed by us unhurt, he having traced us all along the road. Our meeting, as you may fancy, was a sad one; the gentlemen, like ourselves, had been stripped of everything, and wore native clothes. Before sun-set we were hurried away from the village, and leaving the main road passed two or three villages when all felt so tired and exhausted, that we begged a Zemindar of a village to give us rest and food till next day, and here we were most kindly used, getting food in plenty and charpoys to rest on. At 4 o'clock next morning, we again started on our weary march. A villager offered us a bed for my husband and bearers also, and by this means we were enabled to make a march of twenty miles before evening; my shoes were worn out and so Major Paterson and I came along bare-footed through the burning sand, and through fields full of thorns. We reached the thannah of Gossowlee and were very kindly used there, one man taking pity on us and cooking us most delicious curry. Next morning, we were provided with two horses, a mule and a donkey, to take us on to Gossowlee tehseeldaree, where we considered ourselves safe. Shigrams next day were sent for us from Murnaul with an escort of the Puttialla Raja's men for our protection, which place we reached at midnight of the 20th May. Here we went to the house of young Mr. Righy who, in very truth, acted the part of a Christian and friend to us poor beggars and refugees; from his we received every kindness and attention, and never shall we forget it. With him we remained rather longer than a week, but again continued a journey so eventfully begun, traveling in a common bullock train to Umballa and from thence to Kalka in a dog cart, having frequently to get out and push our

conveyance ourselves through the deep and burning sand. We dressed Dr. Wood's wound—and such a wound as it was, the jaw being shot away—ourselves for eleven days, ere a medical man saw it. Ours was a disastrous retreat and much we suffered, and worst of all insults—brutal insults were heaped upon us. We have lost all we possessed, and both Mrs. Peile and I had several valuable articles amongst our stock of jewels, presents from dear friends and others purchased by our own little savings. But those ruthless plunderers thought not of this. We also suffered much for want of water, our thirst was intense, and when our small water jar was exhausted, we were only too glad to drink from the jheels by the road side, muddy and full of insects though it generally was, drawing water from the wells which were not very deep, (our rope being only a short one) and this often proving bad and brackish. I may add that poor Colonel Ripley was being carried on ahead of us in the doolee, but where he was put down I do not know. I only wish we had had the chance of even trying to bring him on with us; if in our power, we should not have left him alone to be cut up.

—(Mrs Woods in Chick, 1859: 68–70)

MRS ALDWELL's statement (n.d.), in *Proceedings on [sic] the Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah* (1858):

I was residing in the part of the city known as Darya-ganj, and I got intimation of the sepoys coming from Meerut between 8 and 9 a.m. on the 11th of May ...

One of my saises came and told me that the troops had mutinied and come from Meerut, and had murdered all the Europeans they met on their way here, and recommended that our carriage should at once be got ready to take us away, as the soldiers had determined on murdering all the Europeans in Delhi also. While I was speaking to the

man, our next door neighbour, Mr. Nowlan, confirmed the report that the sais had just brought, and asked if he could speak to Mr. Aldwell. The two consulted together, and as our house was the largest and strongest, it was determined that all the Europeans in the neighbourhood should collect there, and defend themselves as long as they could, or till such time as help should arrive. After that Mr. Aldwell and Mr. Nowlan went to the guard at a hospital close by. This guard was composed of native infantry sepoys, and Mr. Aldwell and Mr. Nowlan asked them whether they would assist in defending us, adding that the Europeans would, in return, render them all the assistance in their power. 'Go and mind your business and we will mind ours,' was the reply given by these sepoys. At this time, shortly after 8 o'clock, the Meerut sepoys had not even crossed the bridge, and could not therefore have communicated with the sepoys of this guard. After this the Europeans who had by this time collected in our house began barricading the doors, and the women and children were sent upstairs. I think we must have numbered, inclusive of men, women and children, upwards of thirty people. We then saw the mutineers crossing the bridge at about 9 o'clock. A good number of them were cavalry and some infantry; this portion of the mutineers passed close under the walls or parapets of our house, which is immediately on the banks of the river, and some of them fired at one of the gentlemen who was then on the top of the house. This body then went off in the direction of the jail, with the intention, as we supposed, of setting the prisoners free. Shortly after that we heard they had entered the city, and were murdering the Europeans wherever they met them. About this time one of the city people, a Mahomedan and a dyer by trade, rushed into our grounds with a drawn sword in his hand, reeking with blood, repeating the *kalima* and calling out to know where the Europeans were. Mr. Nowlan asked him who and what he was, and on his not replying shot him dead. This man was the only one that had entered our grounds, but then

fifty or sixty of his followers, city people, collected at our gate. About 11 o'clock, a Mrs. Foulon was brought into our house by a Mahomedan; she had been severely wounded on the head by some of the city people, who had entered and plundered her house. Nothing further of consequence happened till about 3 p.m. when the magazine blew up. I then requested Mr. Aldwell to let me and my three children leave the house, as the servants told me that the mutineers had gone for the purpose of bringing guns to bear upon it, and I was anxious to obtain concealment elsewhere. Myself and three children then dressed ourselves as natives, and left the house in two native doolies, and were taken to the residence of one of the king's grandsons by name Mirza Abdulla. His wife and sister received us kindly, for Mr. Aldwell and myself had known the family before. We remained there till eight that evening, when Mirza Abdulla came and said he would remove us to a house of greater security, viz. to one belonging to his mother-in-law. He removed us there, keeping some of our property with him, saying it would be dangerous for us to take it in the streets, and that I was to send my Munshi for it next morning. I accordingly send my Munshi for this property, viz. 200 rupees in money, and some silver plate; but Mirza Abdulla denied having received it, and sent word that if we did not remove from his mother-in-law's house, he would send people down to murder us, and accordingly that evening at 6 o'clock he sent his uncle and some of his servants to see if we had left his house, and if not, to murder us there. I did not see the uncle, but I saw the servants, and they had drawn swords in their hands, when my Munshi's mother upbraided saying, 'Is this the Mirza's hospitality—if this had been his intention why did he not refuse to receive us? Why promise shelter and safety merely for he purpose of murder?' She also added, 'If you are determined to kill anyone, kill me first, I have eaten the Christian's salt, and cannot now see them murdered.' She also added tauntingly, 'By killing me you will perform a very meritorious action,

as I am a Saydni and a Shiah.' This was in allusion to the king's family being Sunnis, and the sect of Sunnis having originally murdered the sons of the prophet or the Syads. The men replied to her that if they were to do so, they would be as bad as infidels; but that they were determined on killing all the Christians; and advised all who were not so either to leave the house, and let them kill us there, or to turn us out of the house and they would murder us in the streets. It was finally permitted to us to remain till next morning on condition of our then leaving. During the night, however, my Munshi brought my tailor to me, and I asked if he knew of any place where he could take and conceal us. He said that he had heard that Nabab Ahamud Ali Khan was sheltering Europeans, and he would take us there. He went to get the Nawab's conveyance; but when he returned, he said the mutineers had already got information of Europeans being concealed in the Nawab's residence, and had brought guns to bear on it; but that he would take us to his own house. He did so, and while we were there, he said that he had heard that several Christians had been taken to the palace, and that the king had guaranteed their lives there, though he had put them into confinement, and he advised us as the safest place to go there. On Wednesday night between seven and eight, this tailor and one of the cavalry mutineers by name Kadirdad Khan, escorted us to the palace; this trooper had formerly received some kindness from the tailor, and on this account agreed to escort us, saying at the time he would not prove ungrateful to him, although they had all taken an oath to murder every European. On reaching the Lahore Gate of the palace, we were made prisoners by some of the king's police stationed there as a guard. These men took us to Mirza Moghal, who ordered us to be confined with the rest of the Europeans then in confinement. We were accordingly taken there on Wednesday, the 13th of May. As far as I can guess, I should say, men, women and children included, there were from forty-six or fifty persons imprisoned. Their names, as far as

I and my children have been able to recollect them, are according to the following list, viz. Mrs. Scully and three children; Mrs. Glynn; Mrs. Edwards and two children; Mrs. Molony and two children; Mrs. Sheehan and child; Mrs. Corbet and daughter; Mr. Staines; Mrs. Cochrane; Miss Staines; Miss M. Hunt; Miss E. Berresford; Miss L. Ryley; Master Richard Shaw; Miss Alice Shaw; Miss Ann Shaw; Mr. Roberts and son; Mr. Crow; Mr. Smith. There was another man whose name I don't know, nor can I recollect the names of the other women and children. We were all confined in one room, very dark, with only one door, and no window or other opening. It was not fit for the residence of any human being, much less for the number of us that were there. We were very much crowded together, and in consequence of the sepoys, and everyone who took a fancy to do so, coming and frightening the children, we were obliged frequently to close the one door that we had, which then left us without light or air; the sepoys used to come with their muskets loaded and bayonets fixed, and ask us whether we would consent to become Mahomedans, and also slaves, if the king granted us our lives; but the king's special armed retainers from among whom the guard over us was always furnished, incited the sepoys to be content with nothing short of our lives, saying we should be cut up in small pieces and given as food to the kites and crows. On Thursday some of the sepoys came and told the ladies that they intended to kill us all, by mining and blowing up the palace. We were very indifferently fed; but on two occasions the king sent us better food. Nothing further of consequence occurred till Friday afternoon, when one of the king's special servants asked one of the ladies (I think it was Mrs. Staines) if the English were ever restored to power how they would treat them, and she replied, 'Just as you have treated our husbands and children.' The next morning between eight and nine o'clock, viz. on Saturday, the 16th of May, the whole party of the Europeans, with exception of myself, three children, and an old native Mahomedan woman, who

had been confined with us for giving food and water to some Christians, were taken out and murdered.

Before leaving my tailor's house I had a petition written addressed to the king, and was taking it myself in hopes of seeing the king and being able to present it to him in person, but when I was taken prisoner by the guard at the Lahore Gate, the men composing it took the paper from me; in it I had stated that myself and children were from Cashmere and were Mussulmanis. On this account we had our food given to us separately, and the king's own servants evidently believed we were Mussulmanis, as they ate and drank with us. Since the out-break on Monday, I had learnt and had taught my children, the Mahomedan confession of faith, and we were all able to repeat it. It was from believing us Mussulmans that our lives were spared. On the morning of the 16th of May, some of the king's special servants attended by a small number of infantry sepoys, came and called out to our party, that the Christians were to come out of the building, and that the five Mahomedans were to remain; the women and children began crying, saying they knew they were going to be murdered; but the Mahomedans swore on the Koran, and the Hindus on the Jumna, that such was not the case, that they wanted to give them a better residence, and that the one they were then in would be converted into a magazine. On this they went out, were counted; but I do not know the number; a rope was thrown round to encircle the whole group, the same as prisoners are usually kept together when on the move, and in this manner they were taken out of my sight, and as I heard brought under the Pipul tree by the small reservoir in the courtyard, and there murdered with swords by the king's private servants. None of the sepoys took part in killing them. The privilege, for it was so considered, of murdering them was particularly reserved for the king's own servants, as it was believed by them that killing an infidel would ensure them a place in paradise. I was told of this at the time by the wife of a sweeper, and afterwards when residing in Delhi during the

whole time of the rebellion, frequently heard this circumstance confirmed. Two guns were fired immediately after the massacre had been completed, and I was then informed that this was intended as a token of joy. About an hour after the massacre, an old man who used to be known as the Mufti Sahib came and said to the king's private servants who were guarding us that he wanted to see the five prisoners who had been saved. He told us that our lives had been spared, and told the king's servants to conduct us to some place of safety, but on no account to do it during the day, as the sepoys or city people would murder us. (I may mention that some of them had suspicions of our being Christians.) In the evening we were taken back to my tailor's house, and the following Tuesday we were again made prisoners by the police officer of the quarter where we were hiding. We were brought as prisoners before Mirza Moghal; the police officer informed him that we were Christians in disguise, and he gave orders that we should be executed; but the sepoys of the 38th prevented this being carried into effect, saying they would take us. We were then taken and confined in Captain Douglas's apartments, where we were kept in confinement till the day after the battle of the Hindan, when we were released by the 38th sepoys. When the sepoys who returned, defeated on that occasion, came back to the city, the men began talking despondingly, saying they would have no chance against the English. The Hindu sepoys especially upbraided the Mahomedans, saying—'This is your first engagement with the English; is this the way you intend to fight for your faith?' They also already spoke in terms of much regret of the turn that affairs had taken, reproached the Mahomedans for having deceived them on pretences of their religion, and seemed to doubt greatly whether the English Government had really had any intention of interfering with their caste. Great numbers of the Hindu sepoys at this time declared that if they could be sure their lives would be spared, they would gladly go back to the service of the Government; but the

Mohamedans on the contrary used to assert that the king's service was much better than that of the English, that the Nawabs and Rajas would supply the king with large forces, and they must eventually conquer.

—(Mrs Aldwell's statement in *Proceedings on the Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah*, 1858: 129–33)

NATIVE

N.A. Chick, *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*, quoting Myoor Tewaree's narrative:

When the Nana's guns opened fire on the boats, one boat in which Wheeler Sahib, the General ... cut its cable and dropped down the river, it was pursued by two companies of infantry and two guns along the banks of the river. Some little way down the boat got stuck near the shore ... With the small gun they fired grape tied up in bags, and the Infantry fired their muskets ... Towards evening the sepoys procured a very big boat into which they all got and dropped down the river ... In the meantime intelligence of the sahibs' defence reached the Nana and he sent off that night three more companies of a native regiment ... these people in their boats surrounded the sahib's boat, and taking them brought them back to Cawnpore. There came out of that boat fifty sahibs, twenty-five mem sahibs, and four children ...

—(Myoor Tewaree in Chick, 1859: 182–84)

George W. Forrest, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, quoting the diary of Nunna Nawab, a native gentleman residing in Kanpur:

It is said that one European lady was also killed [at Cawnpore]. She stood amongst the males with her child and

was ordered to come out, but she said she would remain where her countrymen were. The child was asked of her but she refused to give. This provoked the mutineers, and she got the fate she sought.

—(Nunna Nawab in Forrest, 1912, Vol. 1: 474)

MIRZA GHALIB, *Dastanubuy*:

I was one of the helpless, stricken men. Shut in my room, I listened to the noise and tumult, and I heard it shouted that the guardian of the Red Fort and the British agent there had been murdered. From all sides one could hear the foot soldiers running and the hoof beats of the horsemen and, looking out, one could see the earth stained by the blood of the rose-bodied. Every corner of the garden had become the graveyard of spring ...

Somehow this long and terrible day came to an end and darkness fell. The black-hearted, cruel killers made camp throughout the city; they stabled their horses in the Red Fort and took the royal chambers for their sleeping rooms ...

Since the fourteenth of September every door in the entire city of Delhi has been closed. There is neither merchant nor buyer; there is no seller of wheat from whom we can buy flour, nor is there a washerman to whom we can give our soiled garments; there is no barber to trim hair, or sweeper to clean our floors. However, as I have written earlier, during these five days it was possible for us to leave the lane for water and occasionally to get flour. But later even this became impossible. The door of the lane was blocked with stones and the mirror of our hearts was clouded with sorrow.

> All our endeavours have been chilled and sorrow now
> Burns in our blood like fire.

Gradually, whatever provisions we had in our houses were consumed. Although we had used the water with great care, not a single drop remained in cup or jar. The people have lost all their power to endure and the illusion that passing our days courageously would bring an end to our hunger now faded completely and we were hungry and thirsty throughout the days and nights ...

At noon on Friday, the twenty-sixth of Muharram, which is the eighteenth of September, an eclipse occurred when the sun, which sheds joy and light upon the world, entered into a new constellation. The darkness so frightened the people that inside and outside the city the misguided rebels fled like swine, and the victors captured the city and the Fort. The horror of mass arrests, assassinations, and slaughter now reached our lane and the people shook with fear.

In this lane there are ten or twelve homes and only one entrance. There is no well inside the lane. Most of the people have left—the women clutching their infants to their breasts and the men with their belongings on their shoulders—and only a few of us have remained behind. We shut the door of the lane from the inside and piled stones against the entrance, so closing it completely. Our little lane which was shadowed is now completely shuttered.

Sooner than my body's weakening, my spirit faints;
for
My heart is trapped as if imprisoned in a narrow
cell.

In these days we think of ourselves as prisoners and we are, in truth, passing our days like prisoners. Nobody comes to visit us and we receive no news. We cannot leave the lane so we are unable to see what is happening with our own eyes. In fact, it is as if our ears were deaf and could not hear, and our eyes were blind and could not see. In addition to this trouble we have neither bread to eat nor water to drink.

One day clouds suddenly appeared and it rained. We tied up a sheet in our courtyard and placed our jars beneath it and in this way we collected water. It is said that the clouds take up water from the river and so spread rain over the earth. But this time the cloud was like *huma* and gathered water from the very fountain of life. It was as if this treasure, for which Alexander searched during the days of his sovereignty, was found by one in anguish during the days of destruction.

> O Ghalib, our Heavenly Friend does not fail us but rather supports us in ways that are beyond our understanding.

Most of the citizens had fled the city but some, caught between hope and despair, are still living inside the walls. So far no information has been received concerning those hiding in lonely places outside of Delhi. Those outside and those still living inside are both in great distress and there is no cure for their misery. If only each could know the fate of the other whether they were alive or dead, much of their grief and anxiety would be allayed. This lack of knowledge is such that wherever one is, one is in despair. The hearts of the helpless inhabitants of the city, and those of the grief-stricken people outside, are filled with sorrow, and they are afraid of mass slaughter.

Monday, the fifth of October, was a day of calamity. Suddenly, at noon, white soldiers scaled the wall near the closed entrance of our lane, climbed over the rooftops, and from there jumped down into the street. The guards of Raja Narendra Singh tried to intercept them but were unsuccessful. Ignoring the small houses nearby, the soldiers entered directly into my house. They did not, in their consideration, touch my possessions but took me, my two children, two or three servants and a few good neighbours to the wise and experienced Colonel Brown who was staying in the merchant Qutubuddin's mansion, situated on this side of the Chauk at a distance of some furlongs. Colonel Brown talked with

me gently and humanely, asking of me my name only, but of the others their profession, and so dismissed me politely. I thanked the Lord, praised the courteous Colonel Brown and returned home.

—(Ghalib, 1992: 28, 38, 40, 45-46)

William Muir, *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces,* Khureetah from the Rani of Dholpure to Lt. Governor at Agra, dated 3 September 1857:

Today, the 3rd September 1857, news arrived, conveyed verbally by a trustworthy person, that yesterday, Wednesday, the 2nd inst., the infantry of Indore with the troops of the Nawab of Bhopal, having marched from Morar, have encamped at the Resident's house in Lashkar, Gwalior: and to-day, Thursday, they would halt there. The rumour is that on Friday they are marching in this direction. The troops of Morar Indore are united in purpose ... It is necessary that you should be informed of this, so I now send this letter ...

—(Muir, 1902: 397)

William Muir, *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces,* 'Notes of Intelligence and Memoranda for Chief Commissioner and Officer Commanding, Agra', 31 August to 23 October 1857:

Mohkum and Bisasee, servants of Lt. Browne on Gwalior: The Gwalior force say they are ready to march upon Agra if the Maharaja will give them a Karindah to go with them. He refuses to do this. We saw no cavalry in Morar. The Maharaja discharged from his army all Mussulman, and

these men are with the advancing force. The Gwalior Sepoys desert daily. We met on our road ... 10 and 15 every day, going to their homes with their wives and families, without their arms. They all said they were going home, and all these men regret the Mutiny.

—(Muir, 1902: 405)

CHARLES THEOPHILUS METCALFE, ***Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, Mainodin Hassan Khan's account:**

In the following month, February, another signal was given by the widespread distribution of chupattis [flat unleavened cakes], an ominous sign. At the time I was 'Thanadar' [head police officer] of the Pahargunje Police Station just outside the city of Delhi. Early one morning the village watchman of Indrapur came and reported that the watchman of Seraie Faruck Khan had brought him a chupatti (which he showed me) and had instructed him to cook five similar chupattis, and send them to the five nearest villages of the neighbourhood, with orders that each village chowkidar was to make five similar ones for distribution. Each chuppati was to be made of barley and wheat flour, about the size of the palm of a man's hand, and was to weigh two tolahs. I was astonished, yet I felt that the statement of the watchman was true, and that there was importance in an event which undoubtedly created a feeling of great alarm in the native mind throughout Hindustan. No extraordinary incident occurred until it was rumoured that on February 26 the 19th Regiment of Foot at Berampur had refused to take cartridges served out to them, and that the 34th Regiment had behaved in a similar manner, and that seven companies of that regiment had been dismissed. When I heard this I suspected that it was the beginning of a time of trouble. Information of the behaviour of the different regiments were widely circulated by the Press, in a native newspaper

published at Umballa. Suspecting some significance in all this I deputed men at once to visit the whole of my police jurisdiction, and, after ascertaining whether chupattis had already reached other villages, to forbid their circulation ...

The same day that I received information about the circulation of chupattis in Pahargunge I heard from my brother [who was thanadar at Buddapur, sixteen miles from Delhi], by a mounted messenger, that chupattis were passing from village to village throughout his jurisdiction; that pieces of goat's flesh were also being distributed; and he asked me what was to be done. I wrote to him at once to use all his influence to prevent the circulation, and immediately send word to authorities.

For some days I received no orders: subsequently an order came to inquire into and report what was intended by this circulation ...

I then received order to stop the circulation ...

I entered the palace on foot. The place was untenanted and deserted. On reaching the Taswir Khana I found four head servants and two eunuchs in attendance ... I was summoned, and, prostrating myself, replied to his questions that my object in seeking an audience was that plunder and butchery were going on, and all the bad characters were searching for European and Christian women and children to destroy them. I begged the king to stop this, and to arrange for the restoration of order. The king replied: 'I am helpless; all my attendants have lost their heads or fled. I remain here alone. I have no force to obey my orders: what can I do?'

[The King summons his physician and adviser, Hakim Ahsanullah]. When Mainodin said that the Christians' lives should be saved, Ahsanullah replied:

'The *bagheelog* [runaways] will never abandon the slaughter of Christians. If they are interfered with, yet worse things may happen. When satiated with the blood of Christians

they will direct their attention to us and to our property. Let us take care of ourselves.' I replied: 'Hakimjee, your judgment is not good. The massacre of innocent women and children is not a good work in the eyes of the Most High God. When this insurrection is suppressed, and the English power re-established, the saving of these lives will stand you in good stead. Even if you incline to the opinion that the English power is gone forever, these lives you have saved will redound to your glory and honour.' I told him it was my opinion that the insurrection would continue only a short while, and besought him to act on my advice. Hakim Ahsanullah remained silent as if lost in deep thought ...

I hurried with them [chobdars] to Dariagunge, where the greater number of Europeans lived. Here was a sad scene, for the wicked and miserable murderers were employed in burning bungalows and killing the women and children. May God be merciful, and not lay to my charge the terrible sights I witnessed! I and the chobdars loudly proclaimed the orders of the King. Our interference was so far effectual that the lives of some dozen persons were spared. They were sent to the Palace, and confined to the *chota kasa* apartments, and orders were given to feed them. Until late in the afternoon I laboured, going from bungalow to bungalow, hoping to find someone still living whom I might rescue. A few Christians only were found alive and taken to the Palace.

Later on I met a large number of Christians, men, women, and children, closely guarded. Using my authority I ordered them to be sent to the Palace or to the Kotwali for trial, to prove if they were or were not Christians. I said: 'If they be found hereafter to be Christians let them be slaughtered; but if they are falsely accused, the King's orders are, they must be set free. These are not Europeans, but men of the country.' I said all this to save their lives ...

I then wrote a petition on their behalf [some soldiers who had 'mutinied'], which they were to present to the King. In an interview with Prince Mirza Mogul I proposed

to him that he should take his regiment as a bodyguard, and be appointed their Colonel, as his brothers had been appointed to the commands of other regiments. He accepted the proposal, and at an interview with the King obtained the issue of the necessary orders. These steps, no doubt, implicated me in the rebellion; but I was actuated by no feeling of opposition to the English, against whom I knew the struggle was hopeless.

If I had remained a passive spectator of this rebellion my life would certainly have been taken, while if I had left the city, and joined the English, the honour of my family would have been destroyed, and the rebels would have wreaked their vengeance upon them, for I was not an obscure man. I knew the position of the English, and how it would be, before the English Government could again reassert its authority and sovereignty; so in my inmost heart I thought I was doing the best I could during this interval ...

I was filled with the greatest anxiety for the safety of Sir Theophilus [Metcalfe], the King having issued a proclamation offering a reward of 10,000 rupees for his capture. While debating with myself how to act, I received a verbal message from Sir Theophilus, asking for assistance to travel to Jujjur. That same evening I sent him a good horse, and some money, to Bura Khan's house, with advice how to travel. I felt I was in great difficulty, for if I myself went, and if my purpose became known, all my labour would be lost. It was arranged that Sir Theophilus should be dressed as a native solider, and should be called Shere Khan, by which name henceforward he passed in all our communications. Next day I received a formal receipt for the money from Jujjur. My anxiety was much lessened by learning that Sir Theophilus had safely reached Jujjur, in company with Bura Khan and two of his brothers.

I placed myself from that day on the sick list, and remained at home, at the same time confining my military duties to attendance on the King. This line of conduct

satisfied the men, for the Subahdars retained command without interference, while position as Colonel protected me from immediate danger from my foes ...

Even the leaders of the rebellion were not safe, for some enemy, in order to get Mahbub Ali Khan and Hakim Ahsanullah Khan into trouble, wrote a letter in their names, addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra, which was allowed to fall into the hands of the mutineers who guarded the gates. The letter was taken to the King, and the immediate execution of the writers demanded. Mahbub Ali Khan was very ill at home, and was taken in his palki to the Dewan-i-Khas. He fell into the hands of the mutineers. Hakim Ahsanullah managed to escape from his house and took refuge in the Palace. The King saw through the treachery and acquitted Mahbub Ali Khan. Nevertheless, the mutineers, in anger, plundered his house. Frighted at the turn affairs had taken, Hakim Ahsanullah treacherously gave up a number of European women and children, whom he had placed in security. The unfortunates were taken to the Dewan Aam and seated in the reservoir. A sowar first fired a carbine, then all were mercilessly massacred, to the horror of the whole city. In other parts of the city fugitives were found and massacred at the order of native officers in command of detached parties.

—(Mainodin Hassan Khan's account in Metcalfe, 1898: 39-40, 49–51, 56-57, 59)

M.A. SHERRING, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*, quoting narrative of Fatima, widow of Wilayat Ali, a native catechist:

On Monday, the 11th of May, about nine o'clock in the morning, my husband was preparing to go out to preach, when a native preacher named Thakoor, of the Church mission, came in, and told us that all the gates of the city

had been closed, that the sepoys had mutinied, and that the Mahommedans of the city were going about robbing and killing every Christian. He pressed hard on my husband to escape at once, if possible, else that we would all be killed. My husband said, 'No, no, brother, the Lord's work can not be stopped by anyone.' In the meanwhile, fifty horsemen were seen coming, sword in hand, and setting fire to the houses around ... My husband called us all to prayer ...

After we had prayer, my husband kissed us all, and said, 'See that, whatever comes, you don't deny Christ, for if you confide in Him, and confess Him, you will be blessed, and have a crown of glory ... So if you can flee, do so; but, come what will, *do not deny Christ*.' Now I began to weep bitterly, when he said, 'Wife, dear, I thought your faith was stronger in the Saviour than mine. Why are you so troubled? ... If the children are killed before your face, oh, then take care you don't deny *Him* who died for us! This is my last charge, and God help you.'

Now some horsemen came up, and the faqirs (devotees) who lived near us told them to kill my husband, that he was an infidel preacher, and that he had destroyed the faith of many by preaching about Jesus Christ. The troopers now asked him to repeat the kalima, but he would not. Two of them then fired at us, and one shot passed close by to my husband's ear and went into the wall behind us. Now all the children ran through a back-door towards the house of Mirza Hajee, one of the Shahzadas (or princes), who respected my husband, and was fond of hearing of the love of God through Christ. He dressed like a faqir, and seemd partial to the Gospel.

He took in my seven children who fled for refuge. Now one of the troopers interposed, saying, 'Don't kill them. Wilayat Khan's father was a very pious Mussulman, who went on a pilgrimage to Mecca; and it is likely that this man is a Christian only for the sake of money, and he may again become a good Mussulman.' Another trooper now asked my husband, 'Who then are you, and what are you?' He

answered, 'I was at one time *blind*, but now I see—God mercifully opened my eyes—and I have found refuge in Christ. *Yes, I am a Christian, and am resolved to live and die a Christian.*'

'Ah,' said the trooper, 'you see that he is a kaffir (infidel); kill him.' Again he was threatened with loaded muskets pointed to his breast, and asked to repeat the Kalima, with a promise of our lives, and protection. My husband said, 'I have repented once, and have also believed in Jesus Christ; so I have no further need of repentance.' At this time, two Europeans were seen running down the road leading to the river, when the troopers said, 'Let us run after these Feringhis first; then we can return and kill these infidels'; so they went.

My husband now said to me, 'Flee, flee—now is the time, before they return.' ... Now I went after my husband towards Mr Mackay's house in Duryaganj ...

On the way, I saw a crowd of the city Mahommedans, and my husband in the midst of them. They were dragging him about on the ground, beating him on the head and in the face with their shoes, some saying, 'Now preach Christ to us; now where is your Christ in whom you boast?' and others asking him to forsake Christianity and repeat the Kalima. My husband said, 'No, I never will; my Saviour took up His cross and went to God; I take up my life as a cross, and will follow him to heaven.' ...

Now a trooper came up and asked what all this was about. The Mussulmans said, 'Here we have a devil of a Christian who won't recant; so do you kill him.' At this the sepoy aimed a blow with his sword, which nearly cut off his head. His last words were 'O Jesus, receive my soul!' I was close by under a tree, where I could see and hear all this ...

I now went to my children, to the house of Mirza Hajee, where I stayed three days ... The Queen Zeenut Mahall had some fifty Europeans concealed, and she did all in her power to save them, but was compelled to give them up ...

Mirza Hajee now told me that I must take one of two

steps—either become a Mahommedan, or leave his house ... I was promised a house to dwell in, and thirty rupees a month to support myself and children, and that no one should molest me. God helped me to resist the temptation, and I said, 'No, I cannot forsake Christ. I will work to support myself and children, and if I must be killed, God's will be done.' I now had to go out with my seven children ...

When the English soldiers arrived in Delhi, I found my position anything but safe; for the sepoys had a strong party there, and we were exposed to the fire of friends and foes ...

—(Fatima's narrative in Sherring, 1859: 46–52)

CHARLES THEOPHILUS METCALFE, ***Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, Munshi Jiwan Lall's account:**

12 May: All this afternoon the Palace was thronged by a turbulent mob of soldiers, calling out that all the grain-shops were closed and the King's loyal servants were starving. The soldiers demanded of the King that he should pass through the city accompanied by his army, and personally allay the fears of the citizens and order the people to resume their ordinary occupations. The King yielded, and, mounted on an elephant, passed in procession through the streets. He did personally order the shops to be reopened and some were opened and again closed; but the shopkeepers generally were deaf to his orders.

When the King returned to the Palace, he found the courtyard of the Dewan-i-Khas crowded with troopers and their horses. They assailed him with loud cries, complaining that the men of the regiment which had mutinied at Delhi had possessed themselves of the treasure from the Delhi collectorate, intending to keep it, and had refused to share it with the Meerut mutineers. The King, utterly distracted

and bewildered in the conflicting counsels, ordered the Princes, who had been appointed to the command of his troops, to send every mutineer out of the city, locating regiments in separate places, and leaving only one regiment in the palace for the defence of the city, and another on the sands in front of the Palace, between the fort and the river. The King pointed out to some of the subedars present that the Dewan-i-Khas had hitherto been an enclosure sacred to royalty alone, and had never before been forcibly entered by armed men. Another regiment was ordered to hold the Ajmir Gate of the city, a fourth the Delhi Gate, a fifth the Kashmir Gate. These orders were partially carried out.

The King, distracted and perplexed, shut himself up, refusing audience to all ...

Later on, in the course of the day, the King sent for Moulvie Suden-u-din Khan Bahadur, and appointed him City Magistrate, to try all cases, and decide them with impartiality and justice. The moulvie excused himself on the plea of bad health. The Treasurer of the Collectorate was next summoned, and questioned as to the cash balance in the Treasury on May 11. The man either could or would not give any information ... The officer in charge of the city reported that many European corpses were lying about. The King ordered a search to be made for the bodies of Mr. Simon Fraser (the Commissioner) and Captain Douglas, in order that if found they might be buried in the Christian burial-ground; but all the other bodies were to be thrown into the river. The native troops again assembled to demand food for the troops, who could no longer be prevented from plundering...

16 May: The sepoys assembled early this morning before the Palace, threatening the King and his officers, accusing them of saving the lives of European ladies and gentlemen and concealing them in the fort, and through them communicating with the Europeans at Meerut ... I learned today that nearly forty Europeans were concealed in the

King's Palace. The sepoys went to the Palace in great anger, as they said they had seized a messenger with a letter cursing the mutineers. The sepoys threatened to kill Ahsanullah Khan and Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan, and also threatened to take away Zinat Mahal Begum Sahiba [the principal queen] and keep her as a hostage for the King's loyalty. There was a great uproar in the Palace, the sepoys on the one hand, and the King's household on the other, contending with violent language and harsh vociferations. To appease the mutineers, Mahabub Ali Khan took an oath that he was not the author of that letter, nor had it been written with his knowledge. (It was on this date that the Europeans in the Palace were butchered in a manner that defies description. May God preserve them in the next world!) [These lines are in parenthesis—it is not clear if they are Metcalfe's insertions—Ed.] ... The King and his assembled councillors stood like dumb puppets. The King ordered the sepoys to separate themselves into two parties, Mohammedans and Hindus, and he appealed to each to consult their religious advisers to see if there were any authority for the slaughter of helpless men, women, and children. But ... let it suffice to pass over that awful day in silence ...

1 September 1857: The King held his durbar: Ahsanullah Khan, Mirza Aminullah Khan, Mirza Zia-u-din Khan, and five hundred officers and nobles attended. Those named were loud in their complaints that Mirza Mogul and Mirza Kizr had taken several lakhs of rupees from the people in the city, and had given nothing to the Army, and prayed the King to insist on their disgorging some of the money, threatening to arrest and imprison them. His Majesty sent for the two princes and told them what had occurred. They replied that forty thousand rupees only had passed through their hands, that the statement about the three lakhs was absolutely false. Mutual recriminations followed. The officers again and again urged upon His Majesty to make some

arrangements about the pay, threatening to plunder the city. The King replied: 'There is no necessity to plunder. I will sell my horses, elephants, silver and gold ornaments of state, and pay the Army. If I do not do so, you can all leave and abandon the city, the more so as I never summoned you. If you intend to plunder the city, kill me first. Afterwards you can do as you please.'

Throughout the day and night the artillery fire was constant, cannon answering cannon. The residents of Kajuzi Mohalla, one of the city wards, and of Sadat Ali Khan's ward, left their houses, and sought refuge in a more distant part of the city. The whole city would have been deserted by man, woman, and child, if the city guards had only permitted them to leave. It required all the exertions of the police to induce some of the shopkeepers to open their shops ... It was proclaimed in the city that tomorrow every citizen should attack the English camp. ... All passed a night of anxiety.

—Munshi Jiwan Lall's account
in Metcalfe, 1898: 85-86, 90-91, 93-94, 216, 229)

M.A. SHERRING, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*, narrative of Christian convert Baboo Ram Chandra, professor of mathematics, Government College, Delhi:

The 10th was Sunday. I saw Sub-Assistant-Surgeon M.S. Chaman Lal, and when we had returned from evening service at church, I dined with him and then went to our missionary friends at night. As customary, we took tea, read a chapter of the New Testament, said a short prayer, and then I and the doctor both returned to our respective homes. When we were taking tea, Mr Hubbard, missionary, told me that he had learned from the paper that the cause of the sepoy disaffection has now been removed, for they

had been allowed to apply 'glue' to their cartridges. I went to bed as usual, little dreaming then of the dreadful scene which was to confound us the next day. As it was summer season, we attended the Delhi college at six a.m.; so the next day, the 11th of May, I went to the college early in the morning. At about eight o' clock a.m., when I was teaching my class in the yard of the upper room, some students told me that the mutineers from Meerut had come to the city. I threatened the students who said such things, not in the least believing the report ...

Then Mr Taylor, our Principal, thought proper to give leave to the whole college, though still he and others did not consider this a very serious matter ... Mr Taylor, Mr Heatley, the editor of the *Delhi Gazette*, Mrs Heatley, Mr Roberts, and all the European teachers of the college, went over to the magazine immediately. I looked on these things with amazement. When all had left the college, I also left it with Moulvie Subhan Baksh of the Arabic department ... We then proceeded to the Lal Dighee (reservoir), but we saw nothing excepting the crowd of the city people, and the kotwal (head of the police) on horseback. On the way I met Captain Douglas, of the palace guard, who returned my salam with a smile. Till this time I had no fear, nor dreamed that the sepoys in Delhi were also in league ... I soon commenced to walk slowly; and some of the mutineers passed by me, and I looked at them, little thinking that if any of the city people were to tell them that I was a Christian they would shoot me down instantly. Many of the Hindoos and Mohammedans passing by knew that I was a Christian, but God shut their mouths, and they did not say to the mutineers that I was a Christian. Dr. Chaman Lal was shot, because some good people of the city took the mutineers to his house and told them that he was a Christian ... Soon after, my two brothers came to my house, and told me that some of the European officers and Chaman Lal were murdered, and requested me to leave the place immediately for the house in the lines. I did so, and

concealed myself in the zenana. There I continued to hear of the murder of many English gentlemen ... On the next day, the 12th of May, I was again told that the mutineers were seeking after me in different places; then, about ten, on opening my Bible with the Prayer-book all bound in one, I found the following psalm, to my greatest consolation—a palm which has exactly been fulfilled [Psalm XLVI—'God is our refuge in distress'] ...

On the third day it was notified by the mutineers, that if any Englishman or Christian were found concealed in any person's house, that man should also suffer death. I feared greatly, not only for myself, but for my family, as I was concealed with them ... Our landlady, in whose house we lived, urgently requested my mother to expel me (as I was the only Christian in the family) from the house instantly, for she feared that if I were found in her house, she would also be punished. This vexed me very much, and I felt grieved at her very unfriendly conduct; but this was a wise providence of God. That very day (third) I leaped over a wall, and went into an adjoining house, where I stopped till it was dark. I dressed myself like a common coolie, and with my old and faithful servant, Boodh Singh, left the city ... Next day, I and my servant went to a village named Mutra, ten miles from Delhi, where one of his relatives was a lumburdar; there I received comfort, for some zemindars knew me to be a Christian. But the psalm I remembered ... On the tenth of June last, at midnight, some rebel troops passed by the village I lived in, and some zemindar opposed to the lumburdar who gave me protection, informed the mutineers that a Christian was living in the village. But before the mutineers came over to the place where I was, my servant learned all the particulars, awoke me from my slumber and told me of my danger. I went inside the hut, and expected a bullet or a sword-thrust every moment ... A zemindar friend advised me to leave the hut immediately, and fly to the jungle. I did so, and my old faithful fellow followed me into wilderness. When we had gone about half

a mile from the village, I heard the noise of the mutineers entering the village, and, as it was moonlight, I feared lest I had been seen during my flight. They fired their muskets; they plundered the house where I had lived (as I came to know afterwards); and when I heard the galloping of horses distinctly, I then believed that they were pursuing after me into the jungles. I found a small thorny bush, into which I thrust myself (so dear is life to man!), though many thorns went into my flesh; still, having a white kurta (tunic) on, I was in constant dread of being discovered—it was clear moonlight then. But God turned away the mutineers from that direction where I hid; and when I ceased to hear the galloping horses, I came out of the bush and met with my servant Boodh Singh; and then we both started ... On the way I was plundered by the worthy Goojurs, who robbed me of my rupees and a flannel jacket, which was all I had. The British camp I reached with only a dirty piece of rag around my waist. Sir T. Metcalfe assisted and comforted me a great deal, and I remained in the camp till Delhi was taken.

—(Baboo Ram Chandra's narrative
in Sherring, 1859: 62–68)

George W. Forrest, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, petition of 7th Regiment, native infantry:

At present the men of bad character in some regiments and other people in the direction of Meerut and Delhi have turned their allegiance to the bountiful government, and created a seditious disturbance, and have made choice of the ways of ingratitude, and thrown away the character of sepoys true to their salt.

At present it is well known that some European regiments have started to permit and coerce these rebels; we trust that by the favour of the bountiful government, we also may be

sent to punish the enemies of the government, wherever they are; for if we cannot be of use to the government at this time, how will it be manifest and known to the state that we are true to our salt? Have we not been entertained in the army for days like the present? In addition to this, government shall see what their faithful sepoys are like, and we will work with heart and soul to do our duty to the state that gives us our salt. Let the enemies of government be who they may, we are ready to fight them, and to sacrifice our lives in the cause ...

Heera Sing, Subadar
Ellahee Khan, Subadar
Bhowany Sing, Jemadar
Munroop Sing, Jemadar
Heera Sing, Jemadar
Isseree Pandy, Jemadar
Murdan Sing, Jemadar

Of the Burra Crawford's, or 7th regiment, native infantry, and of every non-commissioned officer and sepoy in the lines. Presented on 3rd June 1857.

—(Petition of the 7th Regiment, native infantry, in Forrest, Vol. 3: 411, note)

M.A. SHERRING, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*, narrative of Ishuree Dass, native preacher, Futtegarh:

We, native Christians, on the mission premises at Rukha, heard of the commencement of this extraordinary mutiny for the first time on the evening of the 16th May 1857, Saturday. The mutineers were believed to be fast approaching the station, insomuch that some said they would be in Futtegarh about ten P.M. As the mission premises were at some distance from the regular military station, the missionary families slept that night in the house of a friend

in the cantonments. The next morning they came over for Hindustanee service at the usual hour; and in the course of the exhortation told us the cause of their absence in the night. In the service, one or two of us native Christians were called upon to pray; and Mr Campbell exhorted the congregation, and told us to prepare for death ... He said Europeans were the especial object of their [the mutineers'] revenge. He also advised us to bury any money and jewels that we had, and do all that we could for our safety when the enemy came in ...

We were in fear the whole day, and did not know what to do. In the afternoon we requested a zemindar, Dhokul Singh, of a neighbouring village, to give us shelter for a day or two, when the insurgents arrived ... The zemindar, Dhokul Singh, cleaned an empty house, and about five P.M. called over, and said that he was ready to do all for our accommodation that lay in his power. We might mention here that this zemindar, with many other heathen friends, became in the end cold and shy, when he saw that the British power was entirely overthrown in the station ...

Evil tidings again came in from every quarter. The scorching blasts of May that raged at our doors were in perfect keeping with the perturbation that reigned in our hearts; and it seemed as if the whole country was going to be the theatre of a most dreadful revolution ...

The missionaries and some other Europeans thought it advisable to leave the station and go down towards Cawnpore by water ...

As none of the Hindoo and Mahommedan servants would go with the missionaries, on account of their families that would be left behind in danger, three of the native Christians accompanied them, two of whom had no families ... When they arrived at Bithoor, which is about ten miles above Cawnpore, they were taken by the rajah (the Nana) that lived in that town. They were taken into a house; but after this the native Christians do not know what happened. I have made inquiries here at Cawnpore, but can get no

authentic and satisfactory information as to where, when, and how they were killed. Their names are found in the rajah's record office ...

After the missionaries and other Europeans left the station, things grew worse in the Zillah of Furruckabad. The civil officers, notwithstanding their most strenuous efforts for the preservation of order, lost all power of control over the district. Police stations and tahsildarees began to be attacked by the insurgents on the Grand Trunk Road, as well as by dacoits ...

All the men of the 10th N[ative] I[nfantry] (the regiment at Futtegarh) were not of the same character in regard to the mutiny. The older sepoys were not inclined to it, and, it is believed, had the majority of the old native officers, who retired on pension only a few weeks before, been there, half the regiment at least would have gone into the fort with the Europeans. The recruits were the ones who were constantly on the point of breaking out, and were kept down by the older sepoys. So sure was the commanding officer of the fidelity of these men that only two or three days before the regiment mutinied, he told us there was no occasion for fear, and that we might make our minds at ease ...

About nine A.M. the same day, a few sepoys of the 10th came into the mission compound for horses. These they took and went away ... At the first, people only of a certain neighbouring village accompanied the sepoys; but about ten A.M. hundreds of villagers from the surrounding country began to pour in and plunder the mission compound and the Christian village ... By the evening of that day, nothing was left but beams that were in the roofs of the houses ...

Though none of us were killed by the sepoys of the 10th, yet we were obliged to leave our place. We passed the day under trees, and the night in the houses of some heathen acquaintances that pitied us ... On the morning of the 19th—that is, the next day—the premises were set on fire by a party of sowars. We witnessed the sight from some

distance, sitting under trees. Our hearts were ready to burst with grief, as we saw the smoke ascending up to heaven. It seemed as if the Lord had visited us in His hot displeasure...

But the people of the surrounding villages now heartily wished us to be off ... We were without a home now, and the whole country seemed against us ... Though the heathen living round the mission premises had become cold, and many of them unkind, yet, we are thankful to say, all the inhabitants of the surrounding country were not like them ... Many of the zemindars pitied us when they saw us with our families in a forlorn and hopeless condition, and gave us shelter in the villages, and sometimes work also. Some of us were kept by them in one place for months, though, always concealed from sepoys ... Though formerly, in the time of peace and prosperity, Brahmins of the highest caste used to court our friendship, yet we were considered so low and unclean now, that in some places even khattiks (keepers of swine) would not touch us!

—(Ishuree Dass's narrative
in Sherring, 1859: 133–44)

BHOLANAUTH CHUNDER, *The Travels of a Hindoo*:

Benares: The 4th of June, 1857, was a critical day. On the morning of that day, both the Sepoys and Sikhs at the station had been called on the parade. To the Sepoys was given the order to pile arms; they refused to obey. The officers sternly reiterated their order; the Sepoys stood in sullen refusal as before. No time was lost then to open a masked battery upon them. The wary Sepoys immediately fell prostrate on the ground, and, crawling on all fours, slunk away from the field. Unhappily, at the position where the Sikh troops stood, the shots thinned a few of their numbers. Suspecting this mischance to be a secret design laid against them, they were about to declare themselves in

a state of open revolt. But the officers succeeded in disabusing their minds and restoring their confidence. The news of unsuccessful disarmament threw the city into a great consternation. The Hindoo population trembled for the safety of their lives and properties. The English residents thought it for certain to have their throats cut. But contrary to all apprehension, the rebel Sepoys chose to disperse themselves in different directions. Full twenty-four hours elapsed without any visible signs of the danger. Not one Sepoy was heard to be tarrying in the neighbourhood. Next day, when the city was thought to have tided over its worst crisis, the excitement went down, and a feeling of security began gradually to return to men's business and bosoms.

—(Chunder, 1869, Vol. 1: 288-89)

BHOLANAUTH CHUNDER, *The Travels of a Hindoo*:

Delhi: Once more we went into the interior of the mausoleum, and were shown the crypt, where the last Emperor Bahador Shah had fled as to a hiding-place, to avoid falling an immediate victim to the fury of a heated, and elated, and vengeance-breathing enemy. He was then past his eightieth year—it matters little whether of solar or lunar months. His physical condition may well be imagined when we know that he had become decrepit, and weak, and quivering ... But age and infirmities had not quenched his thirst for power, or sobered his views with the conviction of the futileness of human greatness and when a charge came over the spirit of his dream, and there glowed a bright kingdom in his vision, he identified himself with the cause of the rebellious Sepoys. The bubble of his hopes burst on the fall and capture of Delhi. Conscious of his implication—at least of his answerableness for his shortcomings, he could well anticipate the fate that awaited him. Under the instinct of fear, he sought to be out of harm's way. But in the wide

realm there was not a spot where he could securely hide his head. To flee away across the sea or mountain was a physical exertion that he no more possessed. In departing, therefore, from the hall of his fathers, he repaired to the cemetery where he expected to be gradually gathered to them. There, in the somber gloom that fills the tomb, and in a low crypt, did he spread a carpet, and cowering in fear—his life hanging by a brittle thread, and the ghosts of the murdered rising before him like Banquo's issue, to sear his eyeballs with the sight of their 'gold-bound brows'. In vain did he invoke and implore the shade of the patriarch that slept before him to arise and shield the last of his race. The enemy was upon his track; he was discovered, and dragged out from his hiding-place, to stand to the charges of his crimes, and expiate them on a foreign shore.

—(Chunder, 1869, Vol. 2: 263-64)

BHOLANAUTH CHUNDER, *The Travels of a Hindoo*:

Delhi: Many a time has Delhi been the theatre of war and bloodshed, but never more so than during the Sepoy Rebellion. The city was like a loaded mine, which took fire the instant the mutineers made their appearance at one of the gates from Meerut. In a moment a murderous fire was opened upon the European and Christians residents in all quarters, and the butcheries of officers, civilians, merchants, and missionaries, the violation and massacre of their wives and daughters, the spoliation and burning down of their houses, the demolition of the courts of law, the college, and the printing-offices, and the seizure of the Ludlow Castle, the Metcalfe House, the arsenal, and the part of artillery, inaugurated the epoch of the finale of Feringhee rule.

—(Chunder, 1869, Vol. 2: 361)

CHARLES BALL, *History of the Indian Mutiny*:

Translation of a Letter from Moulvie Mohamed Surfraz Alee, the Ambassador of the King of Oude, to the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor (without date), received 6th June 1858.

After compliments—Friendship has subsisted for a very long period between the kingdom of Oude and that of Nepaul, and nothing has been done on our part to interrupt it. It is therefore astonishing you have sided with the impure infidels, who are tyrants and enemies of the religion both of Hindoos and Mohammedans, and have fought against the army of the faithful. The chiefs of every tribe should fight for their religion as long as they live. These execrated people have become the destroyers of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religion, and your friendship for them is unbecoming the dignity of princes and kings. There is a proverb that 'When infidelity springs from Mecca, where can Islamism exist?' If you in person are prepared to destroy religion, how can it stand? I hope that, having allowed the eyes of justice and kindness to rest on both creeds, you will make your arrangements so that these enemies of the faith may abandon their present purpose, and meet with punishment; and that for thousands of Hindoos and Mohammedans whom they have slain without cause, you will leave nothing undone in the way of retaliation. By this means you will, in the first place, obtain renown is this world and in the next; secondly you will give satisfaction to our government, and it will be the means of increasing friendship. From your kindness I am in hopes you will favour me with an answer to this letter, with your seal attached, that I may be enabled to report it to the king. For the express purpose of communicating with you I have been appointed ambassador, and am now in Toolseepore. I enclose a copy of my credentials (sunnus). In return for your friendship and good wishes it will be easy for the king to reward you. I have had

an interview with Dummun Khan, and have told him all that is necessary; no doubt he will write and inform you. Moulvie Ahmed Ooola Shah, a very celebrated and brave man, is in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, and is ready to fight with and destroy the infidels (Kafirs). I am one of his confidential servants, and have been deputed by him to negotiate with you. Neither I nor the servants of our government are acquainted with your titles or those of your authorities; so we cannot address you properly. I am in hopes that you will send us word how we should address you, and pray forgiving any mistakes or omissions in this letter. I hope for the future you will look upon me as your friend, and you will not forget me. Seven Persian letters accompany this, addressed by Mahomed Khan Bhadoor, viceroy of Oude, to different Nepaul authorities—among them one for yourself; and two Hindee letters under the seal of the king of Oude, one for the king of Nepaul, the other for yourself—will reach you. I am in hopes you will favour us with a reply, and that you will pay such kind attention to the condition of the Hindoos and Mohammedans that their religion may be preserved, and the infidels destroyed.

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 370-01)

CHARLES BALL, ***History of the Indian Mutiny***:

Abstract Translation of a Letter from Ramzan Alee Khan Mirza Birjiz Kudr Bahadoor, to His Highness the Maharajah of Nepaul, dated the 7th of Jeth Sumvut, 1915, corresponding with 19th May 1858.

After compliments—It is known to everyone that my ancestors brought the British into Hindostan; but Bulvunt Sing, the rajah of Benares, was a cause of much annoyance to them, and therefore the province of Benares was given to them. A treaty was then signed by the British, in which they

wrote that they would never act treacherously as long as the sun and moon should exist. But they have lined that treaty, and, dethroning my father, Wajid Ali Shah, have sequestered his state, palaces, and everything he had. Everyone is acquainted with that event as it took place only in Sumvut, 1912.

After taking Lucknow they intended to make war with you, for which purpose they collected a large force and magazine at Colonelgunge, which is situated below the hills; perhaps you are aware of this event.

In former years great intimacy existed between our houses, insomuch that your forefathers built a bungalow for my ancestors for shooting and hunting purposes in Bhootwal.

The British, some time ago, attempted to interfere with the faith of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans, by preparing cartridges with cow's grease for the Hindoos, and that of pigs for the Mohammedans, and ordering them to bite them with their teeth. The sepoys refused, and were ordered by the British to be blown away from guns on the parade-ground. This is the cause of the war breaking out, and probably you are acquainted with it.

But I am ignorant as to how they managed to get your troops, which they brought here, and began to commit every sort of violence, and to pull down temples, mosques, imaumbarras, and the sacred places.

You are well aware of the treachery of the British, and it is proper you should preserve the standard of religion, and make the tree of friendship between you and me fresh.

Therefore it is proper we should join in killing the British, which is the only way to save the religions of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans.

I have written briefly, but you can comprehend it largely. It is right that you should send me a reply quickly.

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 371)

CHARLES BALL, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, quoting the secretary to the chief commissioner of Oude:

[*Translation by Order Proclamation by the Begum of Oude.*]

At this time certain weak-minded, foolish people have spread a report that the English have forgiven the faults and crimes of the people of Hindoostan. This appears very astonishing, for it is the unvarying custom of the English never to forgive a fault, be it great or small; so much so, that if a small offence be committed through ignorance or negligence, they never forgive it. The proclamation of the 1st of November, 1858, which has come before us, is perfectly clear; and as some foolish people, not understanding the real object of the proclamation, have been carried away, therefore we, the ever-abiding government, parents of people of Oude, with great consideration, put forth the present proclamation, in order that the real object of the chief points may be exposed, and our subjects placed on their guard.

1. It is written in the proclamation, that the country of Hindoostan, which was held in trust by the Company, has been resumed by the Queen, and that for the future the Queen's laws shall be obeyed. This is not be trusted by our religious subjects; for the laws of the Company, the settlement of the Company, the English servants of the Company, the governor-general, and the judicial administration of the Company, are all unchanged. What, then, is there now which can benefit the people, or on which they can rely?

2. In the proclamation it is written, that all contracts and agreements entered into by the Company will be accepted by the Queen. Let the people carefully observe this artifice. The Company has seized on the whole of Hindoostan, and if this arrangement be accepted, what is there new in it? The Company professed to treat the chief of Bhurtpore as a son, and then took his territory; the chief of Lahore was carried off to London, and it has not fallen to his lot to return; the Nawab Shumshoodeen Khan, on

one side, they hanged, and, on the other side, they salaamed to him; the Peishwa they expelled from Poona Sitara, and imprisoned for life in Bithoor; their breach of faith with Sultan Tippoo is well known; the rajah of Benares they imprisoned in Agra. Under pretence of administering the country of the chief of Gwalior, they introduced English customs; they have left no names or traces of the chiefs of Behar, Orissa, and Bengal; they gave the Rao of Furruckabad a small monthly allowance, and took his territory—Shahjehanpore, Bareilly, Azimgurh, Jounpore, Goruckpore, Etawah, Allahabad, Futtehpore, &c. Our ancient possessions they took from us on pretence of distributing pay; and in the 7th article of the treaty, they wrote, on oath, that they would take no more from us. If, then, the arrangements made by the Company are to be accepted, what is the difference between the former and the present state of things? These are old affairs; but recently, in defiance of treaties and old affairs; and notwithstanding that they owed us millions of rupees—without reason, and on pretence of the misconduct and discontent of our people, they took our country and property, worth millions of rupees. If our people were discontented with our royal predecessor, Wajid Ali Shah, how comes it they are content with us? And no ruler ever experienced such loyalty and devotion of life and goods as we have done. What, then, is wanting that they do not restore our country? Further, it is written in the proclamation, that they want no increase of territory, but yet they cannot refrain from annexation. If the Queen has assumed the government, why does her majesty not restore our country to us when our people wish it? It is well-known that no king or queen ever punished a whole army and people for rebellion; all were forgiven; and the wise cannot approve of punishing the whole army and people of Hindoostan; for so long as the word 'punishment' remains, the disturbance will not be suppressed. There is a well-known proverb—'A dying man is desperate' (*Murta kya ne kurta*). It is impossible that a thousand should attack a million, and the thousand escape.

3. In the proclamation it is written, that the Christian religion is true, but that no other creed will suffer oppression, and that the laws will be observed towards all. What has the administration of justice to do with the truth or falsehood of religion? That religion is true which acknowledges one God, and knows no other. Where there are three Gods in a religion, neither Mussulmen nor Hindoos—nay, not even Jews, Sun-worshippers, or Fire-worshippers can believe it true. To eat pigs and drink wine—to bite greased cartridges, and to mix pig's fat with flour and sweetmeats—to destroy Hindoo and Mussulman temples on pretence of making roads—to build churches—to send clergymen into the streets and alleys to preach the Christian religion—to institute English schools, and to pay a monthly stipend for learning the English sciences, while the places of worship of Hindoos and Mussulmans are to this day entirely neglected; with all this, how can the people believe that religion will not be interfered with? The rebellion began with religion, and, for it, millions of men have been killed. Let not our subjects be deceived; thousands were deprived of their religion in the North-West, and thousands were hanged rather than abandon their religion.

4. It is written in the proclamation, that they who harboured rebels, or who were leaders of rebels, or who caused men to rebel, shall have their lives, but that punishment shall be awarded after deliberation, and that murderers and abettors of murderers shall have no mercy shown them, while all others shall be forgiven. Any foolish person can see, that under this proclamation, no one, be he guilty or innocent, can escape. Everything is written, and yet nothing is written; but they have clearly written that they will not let off any one implicated; and in whatever village or estate the army may have halted, the inhabitants of that place cannot escape. We are deeply concerned for the condition of our people on reading this proclamation, which palpably teems with enmity. We now issue a distinct order, and one that may be trusted—that all subjects who

may have foolishly presented themselves as heads of villages to the English, shall, before the 1st of January next, present themselves in our camp. Without doubt their faults shall be forgiven them, and they shall be treated according to their merits. To believe in this proclamation it is only necessary to remember that Hindoostanee rulers are altogether kind and merciful. Thousands have seen this, millions have heard it. No one has ever seen in a dream that the English forgave an offence.

5. In this proclamation it is written, that when peace is restored, public works, such as roads and canals, will be made in order to improve the condition of the people. It is worthy of a little reflection, that they have promised no better employment for Hindostanees than making roads and digging canals. If people cannot see clearly what this means there is no help for them. Let no subject be deceived by the proclamation.—[A true translation]

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 543-44)

CHARLES BALL, ***History of the Indian Mutiny:***

Translation of a Letter from Birjiz Kudr to his Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, of 11th May, 1858.

After aseer (blessing)—I am well convinced that you pay great attention to religion and faith, and that it is very likely you have been informed of the temples and imaumbarras that have been broken down.

You are also aware that the British do not care ever for the religion or life of the Hindoos or Mohammedans, and their cunningness and treachery, as well as their forgetfulness of favours, is not unknown to you.

You are also aware that my forefathers showed favour to the British, such as no one else would do; and they have, without any offence on my part, deprived me of everything.

Let bygones be bygones. I now write to you that it is proper for us to band together in the cause of religion, and act with reflection.

To you both parties are the same; what shall I write more? My brief writing comprehends a great deal.

Let me inform you that the moulvie sahib is proceeding towards you on my part.

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 370-71)

CHARLES BALL, ***History of the Indian Mutiny:***

Translation of a Letter from Alee Mahomed Khan, Viceroy of Lucknow, to his Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, dated May 19th.

After compliments—Great intimacy existing between the two governments, it is uncessary for the members of either to attempt to increase it. Therefore, I Alee Mahomed Khan Bahadoor, a viceroy of the state, remind you of it, and disclose my object in this friendly letter—informing you, that a friendly letter has been addressed by this state to his highness the maharajah of Nepaul, the purport of which will be known.

As the strengthening of the old friendship existing between the two states depends on the managers of both governments, who are bound in duty to do so (and the sages and clever men of past ages have excelled in such matters), and especially at this period, when the British nation is bent on depriving the inhabitants of this country of their religion, faith, dominions, and lives; and as no hope is left to any prince by this cursed nation; therefore, on the strength of our old friendship, and considering the vicinity of our frontier, I am led to believe that it would not be wise in any chief to allow these enemies, who are in their grasp, to escape.

Therefore it is proper for, and binding on chiefs, to enter into agreements to kill and get rid of these infidels.

It is hoped you will keep the object of this proposed matter in view, and renew the rites of friendship.

Believing me anxious to hear of your health, I hope you will always favour me with your correspondence.

May the days of prosperity befriend friends.

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 371)

CHARLES BALL, ***History of the Indian Mutiny*:**

Translation of a Letter from his Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, to Birjiz Kudr Bahadoor, of Lucknow.

Your letter of the 7th Jeth Soode (Wednesday, corresponding to the 19th of May, 1858), to the address of his highness the maharajah of Nepaul, and that of 13th Jeth Vudee of the present year (Tuesday, corresponding to the 11th of May, 1858), to my address, have reached their respective destinations, and their contents are fully understood. In it is written that the British are bent on the destruction of the society, religion, and faith of both Hindoos and Mohammedans.

Be it known that, for upwards of a century, the British have reigned in Hindostan; but up to the present moment, neither the Hindoos nor the Mohammedans have ever complained that their religion has been interfered with.

As the Hindoos and Mohammedans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy, neither the Nepaul government nor I can side with them.

Since the star of faith and integrity, sincerity in words as well as in acts, and the wisdom and comprehension of the British, are shining as bright as the sun in every quarter of the globe, be assured that my government will never disunite itself from the friendship of the exalted British government,

or be instigated to join with any monarch against it, be he as high as heaven. What grounds can we have for connecting ourselves with the Hindoos and Mohammmedans of Hindostan?

Be it also known that had I in any way been inclined to cultivate the friendship and intimacy of the Hindoo and Mohammedan tribes, should I have massacred 5,000 or 6,000 of them on my way to Lucknow?

Now, as you have sent me a friendly letter, let me persuade you, that if any person, Hindoo or Mohammedan, who has not murdered a British lady or child, goes immediately to Mr. Montgomery, the chief commissioner of Lucknow, and surrenders his arms and makes submission, he will be permitted to retain his honour, and his crimes will be pardoned.

If you still be inclined to make war on the British, no rajah or king in the world will give you an asylum, and death will be the end of it.

I have written whatever has come into my plain mind, and it will be proper and better for you to act in accordance with what I have said.

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 371-72)

N.A. CHICK, *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*, Marian Ayah's statement (n.d):[1]

On the 3rd of May all the native infantry and cavalry regiments at Cawnpore mutinied and ran off to *loot* the treasury, which they took. They then burnt the collector's house and proceeded to Kulianpore seven miles from Cawnpore, and encamped there. At this place the Nana

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[1]Edward Leckey in his *Fictions Connected with the Indian Outbreak Exposed* (1859) disputes Marian's account.

Sahib met them, and said to the mutineers, 'You receive seven rupees from the British Government, I will give you fourteen. Don't go to Delhi, stay here, and your name will be greater, kill all the English in Cawnpore first, and I will give you each a golden bracelet.' On hearing this, all the mutineers agreed to the terms of the Nana. They made a subadar of the first regiment general, and he again made all the havildars, naicks, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns. The Nana said, 'I will supply you all with food.' On the following day, the Nana with the above regiments proceeded to Cawnpore, *looted* all the residents' houses and then set fire to them. All the residents were in the entrenchment; those who did not go there were all murdered, together with the drummers and native Christians. It was the intention of some of the officers to blow up the magazine, and for this purpose proceeded into the station. When they reached the canal, all the regiments fired on the party, killed one officer, adjutant of 2nd cavalry, and the rest escaped to the entrenchment for their lives; they unfortunately left a gun behind them, which they had taken from the entrenchment. On the party reaching the camp, fire was opened on the English people by the mutineers, and cannons were placed on the three sides of the entrenchment. On the canal side a 24-pounder, on the hospital side an 18-pounder, on the third side near subadar, two 12-pounders were placed.

There were only six guns inside the entrenchment, only nine-pounders. The guns from the entrenchment only fired for twenty-four hours, being injured by the heavy shots of the enemy. The mutineers fired day and night for twenty-two days. Many of the English people died from wounds from cannon balls, musket balls, hunger and thirst, and *coup de soleil*. Nearly all the bhistees were killed by cannon balls. The chief well being outside the entrenchment, the people got very little water to drink, except what the soldiers drew for them under fire of the guns.

After ten days a ball burst on the roof of the pucka house in the entrenchment, which set the building on fire;

all the good clothes and other articles belonging to the ladies and children were burnt; for this reason they were reduced to the greatest straits, and very little food was cooked, as nearly all the servants ran away from fright. The soldiers used to cook for the ladies and children, but for several days they took no food at all. During this period about 150 men, women and children died from natural causes and wounds, particularly women and children; some died from the falling walls, and others from anxiety, fatigue, and exposure. Mr. Jacobi's wife was hiding in one of the Nawab's houses, and was discovered by a sowar, who took her to the Nana Saheb in Hindoostanee clothes, having caught her in one of the ghauts crossing to Lucknow, the Nawab was sending her there for safety. The Nana imprisoned her with one Mrs. Greenway. The sepoys were by this time becoming disgusted at the fight continuing so long, and told the Nana, 'If you don't keep your promise with us, we will kill you.' On this Nana Saheb said, 'Don't be alarmed, I will give you more than I promised.' He then said to Mrs. Jacobi, 'Will you take a note to General Wheeler?' She said 'yes', the letter was written and sent by Mrs. Jacobi to the General. She was not at first allowed to come near the camp by the soldiers, but when they heard the English voice, they allowed her to do so. The contents of this letter were—'It is far better for you who are alive to go at once to Allahabad, unless you wish to continue fighting; if so, you can do so. Let Cawnpore be given up, and you shall be saved.' On reaching the entrenchment General Wheeler went to meet Mrs. Jacobi, and when he read the note, he said, 'I cannot agree to anything sent this way by letter; if the Nana has any propositions to make, tell him to make it in person.' Mrs. Jacobi took the reply back to the Nana. He said, 'If the Europeans will cease firing, I will go and send a reply.' The General said, 'Let both sides cease firing during the conference'; this was agreed to. On the following day the Nana, his brother, Babba Bhut, and nephew and a large party of soldiers came up to the

entrenchment. General Wheeler was ready to meet them. The Nana said, 'Take away all the women and children to Allahabad, and if your men want to fight come back and do so. We will keep implicit faith with you.' General Wheeler said, 'You take your solemn oath according to your custom, and I will take an oath on my Bible, that I will leave the entrenchment.' The Nana said, 'Our oath is that whoever we take by the hand, and anyone who relies on us, we never deceive, for if we do, God will judge and punish us.' General Wheeler said, 'If you intent to deceive me, kill me at once—I am not armed.' The Nana replied, 'I will not deceive you, rely on us, I will procure food & c., and convey you to Allahabad.' On this the General went into the entrenchment and consulted with the soldiers, who said, 'There is no reliance to be placed on natives; they will deceive you.' A few said, 'Trust them, it is better to do so.' On this the General returned and said, 'I agree to your terms; see us only as far as Futtehpore, from thence we can get easily to Allahabad.' Twenty boats were then ordered with covers to them. When the Nana saw all was settled, he said, 'Don't let the treasure be taken away, send that to me.' The General said, 'You may have the money.' There were three lacs in cash at this time. The Nana said, 'You will breakfast on board the boats at 10 a.m. tomorrow, and also dine on board, and leave the entrenchment clear by 11 a.m.' The General assented to this. They were all ready, when a message from the Nana came, saying, 'The boats will not be ready to-day, you must leave to-morrow, you have better leave in the evening, &c.' The General's reply to this was, 'I won't leave at night, as you may play us false.' The Nana then said, 'Very well, you can leave at 4 p.m.' On the following day the Nana took away all the treasure. At this time some delay again took place in their departure. All the ladies and children were dressed and ready. The General asked the Nana, 'Are all our servants to go with us? Or do you supply us with servants?' The reply was, 'Yes, you can take them.' The next day, though suspicions were entertained

of the faith of the Nana's party, still they hoped all was right. The Nana sent word on Sunday to say the servants were not to go; that the ladies and women could look after themselves. On this being heard, they were all alarmed. At 7 a.m. the mutineers surrounded the entrenchment, and all the English were in their power. The servants ran away and were cut down; a few escaped; all were alarmed. The rebels entered the entrenchment and said, 'Come to the boats, all is ready'...

When a few had gone on board, and others were waiting to embark on the river side, a gun opened on them with canister shot ... one boat took fire, and then another gun opened, and four boats were fired. Those who escaped the fire, jumped into the water. The sepoys also fired with the muskets. The sowars entered the water on horse back and cut numbers down; fifteen boat loads of the English were massacred; 108 women and children escaped this massacre ... A daughter of General Wheeler was taken off by a sowar, and put into his house along with his wife near the Chowel Church. This girl remained with this man till night. He went out and came home drunk and fell asleep. She took a sword and cut off his head, his brother's head, two children's heads and his wife's, and then walked into the night air when she saw other sowars, and said to them, 'Go inside and see how nicely I have been rubbing the Ressalla's feet.' They went inside and found all of them dead. She then jumped into a well and was killed. From fear, seeing what this girl had done, none of the rebels would have anything to say to the Englishwomen ...

—(Marian Ayah's statement in Chick, 1859, 178–82)

RESPONSES

BRITISH RESPONSES

COUNTERMEASURES AND REPRISALS

The British government and military machinery began damage control and repair operations in Delhi, Meerut, Calcutta and other places very quickly. Though frequently hampered by bad terrain, the season and burgeoning suspicion of every native soldier who still served them, countermeasures were in full swing by early June 1857.

Numerous documents map the efforts of the administrators and statesmen to restore British power. Accounts of skirmishes and battles and native armies being laid siege to are aplenty. Reprisals against sepoys—ranging from trials, summary executions and gory killings—are detailed in many memoirs and newspaper accounts; indeed, descriptions of these brutal countermeasures form the bulk of the narratives. As northern India boiled in the heat of the season and battles, the assiduous documentation preserved images of anger, courage and an ardent desire to hoist the Union Jack again from the various forts taken over by Indians.

Documents that record the hunt for Indian leaders such as Nana Saheb, appraisals of and reactions to the actions of 'mutineers', military movements and intelligence work are available in this section.

LETTER FROM PESHAWAR, *The Lahore Chronicle*, 20 June 1857:

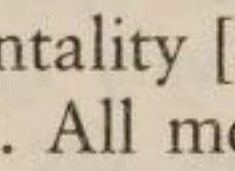
The gallows are yet standing in front of the HM's 87th Parade, and Court-Martials are still sitting, so that the wretched prisoners must be in a horrible state of 'mind'. I saw them this morning, being led for an airing in the vicinity of the gallows! I must, however, add that I do not believe this is purposely arranged by the authorities, or it would be an unnecessary piece of cruelty.

ROBERT DUNLOP, *Service and Adventure with the Khakee Ressalah*:

The slightest mawkish mentality [in the treatment of arrested mutineers] would be fatal. All men able to carry arms were shot down or put to the sword and their residences burnt. The only prisoners taken, some fifteen in number, were ordered out of the camp, and executed in the evening by order of the Military Commandant.

Often and often have I seen natives executed, of all ages, of every caste, and every position in society, yet never have I seen one of them misbehave. They died with a stoicism that in Europe would excite astonishment and admiration...

—(Dunlop, 1858: 12)



REV. A. MEDLAND, missionary of the Church Missionary Society, Meerut, dated 16 May 1857, in M.A. Sherring, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*:

Whilst I was performing service in our mission chapel on Sunday evening, I heard a great noise, shouting and yelling, accompanied by an occasional fire of musketry. At the

conclusion of the prayers, I inquired into the cause, and was informed that the sepoys were fighting in their own lines. Apprehending no danger, as the lines were at some distance, I commenced my sermon, but had not proceeded far, when a man rushed in and informed me that the sepoys were advancing upon us, and murdering all the Europeans they could lay their hands on. Mr. Parsons, our catechist, quickly followed, confirming his statement. I at once dismissed the congregation, and, at his suggestion, drove off in a direction opposite to my house. By this time huge masses of smoke were ascending in various directions, and, shortly after, we passed the European troops marching to the scene of the disturbance. Being assured that danger was imminent, we proceeded to seek shelter in the house of a friend. Ere we could enter his compound, we heard a savage yell behind us, and an empty buggy passed, the owner of which, we since heard, was massacred on the spot, and a gentleman who accompanied him very dangerously wounded. We, however, were mercifully permitted to enter our friend's house in safety, where we remained until escorted by some officers to a place of greater security. The night was spent in a state of fearful suspense, whilst the illuminated sky, and the distant firing, proclaimed that the work of destruction and carnage was proceeding ...

On Monday, my servants came and informed me that a large crowd of natives from the city, probably a thousand, came to my house on the preceding evening, inquiring for Mrs Medland and myself, and threatening to cut us to pieces. Finding, however, that we were not in the house, they instituted a diligent search throughout the compound, but, failing in their object, they deliberately set fire to the house and adjoining premises. The whole of the property was either burned or stolen, and, with the exception of a few articles of wearing apparel, which had been thrown into the compound, we have nothing left save the clothes we have on ...

We are living in a state of continual excitement and

when the intelligence of the Delhi massacre was received, and it was generally supposed that the insurgent troops would return here, the faces of many 'gathered blackness', and many—I may say all—began to prepare for the worst...

18th May—Since writing the preceding, the Sappers and Miners have arrived from Roorkee. On Saturday afternoon, one of them deliberately shot his commanding officer, and all the men who were in the barracks at the time—about four hundred—fled into the open country. They were quickly pursued, and about fifty killed.

The missionaries and native Christians at Delhi are, I believe, killed. All our Christians are in safety, and have returned to the mission compound ...

—(Rev. Medland in Sherring, 1859: 25–28)

MRS R.M. COOPLAND, *A Lady's Escape from Gwalior*:

At Delhi: [The provost-marshal had put to death] between four hundred and five hundred wretches since the siege, and was not thinking of resigning his office. The soldiers, inured to sights of horror, and inveterate against the sepoys, were said to have bribed the executioner to keep them a long time hanging, as they see the criminals dance a 'Pandies' hornpipe, as they termed the dying struggles of the wretches...

Delhi ought to be razed to the ground, and on its ruins a church or monument should be erected, inscribed with a list of all the victims of the mutinies—if it be possible to gather the names of ALL those who were massacred—and the funds for its erection should be raised by a fine levied on every native implicated in the mutinies, but not openly accused of murder ...

In the afternoon Captain and Mrs Garstone and myself, with another officer and his wife, went to see the King of Delhi ... Pushing aside the purdah, we entered a small, dirty, low room with white-washed walls, and there, on a

low charpoy, cowered a thin small old man [Bahadur Shah Zafar—Ed.], dressed in a dirty white suit of cotton, and rolled in shabby wraps and rezais, on account of the cold. At our entrance he laid aside the hookah he had been smoking and he, who had formerly thought it an insult for any one to sit in his presence, began salaaming to us in the most abject manner ...

As we looked at him we thought how strange it was that this frail old man, tottering on the brink of the grave, could harbour such a plot and such deep revengeful feelings against us ... He had a venerable-looking white beard, and he swayed about in a frail decrepit way, exciting feelings that were a mixture of contempt, abhorrence, and pity: contempt for the degraded position to which he had brought himself by his wild scheme of reinstalling himself on a throne which he could only hope to enjoy for a passing year or two; abhorrence that he could give up our poor countrymen to be brutally murdered, and even, it is said, feast his eyes and ears on their dying anguish; and pity that he should have so short a time for repentance ...

—(Coopland, 1859: 269-70, 274–79)

Montgomery Martin, letter in the *Times*, 19 November 1857:

I have given up walking about the back streets of Delhi, as yesterday an officer and myself had taken a party of twenty men out patrolling, and we found fourteen women with their throats cut from ear to ear by their own husbands, and laid out in their shawls. We caught a man there who said he saw them killed, for fear they should fall into our hands; and showed us their husbands, who had done the best thing they could do afterwards, and killed themselves.

JOHN KAYE, ***History of the Sepoy War in India*:**

Our women were not dishonoured save that they were made to feel their servitude. They were taken out, two at a time, to grind corn for the Nana's household. An educated English gentlewoman needed not even a week's residence in India to teach her the meaning of this. As they sat there on the ground, these Christian captives must have had some glimmering recollection of their biblical studies, and remembered how in the East the grinding of corn was ever regarded as a symbol of subjection—how, indeed, it was one of the crowning curses of the first great captivity on record.

—(Kaye, 1875, Vol. 2: 354-55)

JAMES NEILL **in John Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*:**

Every stain of that innocent blood [British] shall be cleared up and wiped out, previous to their execution, by such miscreants as may be hereafter apprehended, who took an active part in the mutiny, to be selected according to their rank, caste, and degree of guilt ... The task will be made as revolting to ... each miscreant's feelings as possible, and the Provost-Marshall will use the lash in forcing anyone objecting to complete his task. After properly cleaning up his portion the culprit is to be immediately hanged, and for this purpose a gallows will be erected close at hand.

—(James Neill in Kaye, 1875, Vol. 2: 399-400)

ANONYMOUS, ***A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow*:**

Overtures have been made from this place to the King of Oude, offering to restore him to the throne, but he very

sensibly laid the whole before government, for which he deserves to be well rewarded. If we can only hear in a few days that the wretches in Delhi have been punished, we may hope that, for the present, our fearful danger is over: but they all say that our Indian empire trembles in the balance, and very, very nearly had we lost it: such a combination against us has never been known in the annals of its history, and never again can a native army be trusted. The native corps will have to be reduced to a small number, and European regiments raised to take their place, as the only chance of retaining the country.

—(Anonymous, 1858: 8)

JOHN KAYE, *History of the Sepoy War in India*:

The Tragedy at Cawnpore excited an intense national hatred in the breasts of Englishmen in distant countries ...

—(Kaye, 1875, Vol. 2: 386-87)

***Bulletin of the Department of Archives*, Maharashtra Archives, n.d., pp.32–34:**

No. B30: The Rao of Kutch refutes his alleged financial assistance to the Nana as reported in the Newspaper.

To
Major A. Y. Shortt
Political Agent in Kutch
Bhooj.
30th July, 1863.

Have been greatly amazed and deeply grieved by a statement made in an article headed 'Detailed Account of the Capture of Nana', that appeared in the Bombay Times of 20th

instant; in which the name of the Kutch Durbar is mentioned in connection with that dastardly and infamous wretch Nana, who has been lately captured at Ajmere.

It is said by Gayapashod or Gaya Persaud 'that the Nana said in conversation that he had come via Scinde and Kutch, where the Rao had given him Rs.50,000, but the Nana told him he wanted men and not money, which not obtaining after fifteen days, he went to the territory of the Ram Rajah'.

I solemnly affirm that the above statement, made from whatever motives, is a falsehood of the grossest sort; that I have never known the person styled the Nana; that the Nana never came to or stayed fifteen or any number of days at my court; that I have never offered or given Rs.50,000 or any money whatever, or told me that he wanted men not money; that neither I nor my father who died three years ago have ever had any kind of connection with the Nana; nay more, I have never believed in, or kept any sort of connection whatever with any *atita*, *fukeer*, or religious mendicant. If there is any form of denial more precise and full that can be suggested, I am willing to make it, as well as to answer any question relating to this matter. I am, indeed, anxious to meet this charge in the most direct manner, and challenge the fullest enquiry.

I cannot say what may be effect on the minds of persons at a distance, of such a statement, which I cannot look upon but with horror, and which, I beg to say, is inconsistent with the uniform friendship and goodwill that has existed between the Kutch and the British governments, and with the varied and faithful services performed by my house during nearly forty years, with the approbation of the Political Agents, the Government of India and the Court of Directors. I therefore rely on you as the British Representative here, enjoying also my full confidence, and being in a position to know everything passing in Kutch, to do me the justice to disabuse the public mind on this subject, and from your own personal knowledge to assure His Excellency the

Governor in Council that such a thing is the farthest from the thought of this Court.

You know and I conscientiously say that far from harbouring or assisting the wretch Nana or any other rebel, I would have been more zealous than even the British Government themselves, in tracking, hunting, or capturing the Nana or any other rebel, had Providence thrown such an opportunity in my way. Nothing, in fact, could have given me more pleasure than an opportunity of testifying my loyalty and friendship by capturing and delivering up to the British Govt. that infamous wretch of a Nana.

It should have been thought that a Government that had given proof of its loyalty and real friendship for the British Government by offering about seventeen years ago, before any Prince in India, to abolish from its coins the name of the nominal Emperor of Delhi, and substitute that of the British Govt., and which actually did so three years ago by putting on its coins the name of Her Most Gracious Majesty, should have nothing to apprehend on the score of loyalty; and I request that you will do me the favour of bringing the above remarks with your own observations to the notice of His Excellency the Governor in Council to whom confidently appeal to acquit me of any imputations of treason or ingratitude.

***Bulletin of the Department of Archives*, Maharashtra Archives, n.d., pp. 73-74:**

E.V. Mackay, Supdt of Police, Kathiwad to the Bombay Govt. dated 16 Feb. 1894:

My dear Whitworth

Are there any likenesses of Nana Saheb of mutiny days, and is there any description of him, showing any marks of identification? If there are any records about him in the Secretariat and you could kindly let me have any information

about him likely to identify him, I should be very much obliged. I believe that it was never actually ascertained that Nana Saheb died after wandering about in the Nepaul jungles, and I believe at various times men have been arrested as Nana Saheb. If you could kindly give me all information about him and where he is supposed to have gone after 1859, I should be much obliged. Were he alive, I suppose Govt. would still desire his arrest.

Bombay Govt. to Supdt of Police, Kathiawad, dated 7 March 1894:

My dear Mackay

I can find no descriptive roll of Nana Saheb but the following quotations from some description before Mr. Forjett, Commr. of Police in 1863 may be of some use to you.

Fair complexion—well built, stout, powerful frame, well formed and graceful figure—face flat, full and round—Large, round dark eyes—cicatrix of a lance wound on the left big toe—he was described as having been 36 years at the time of the mutiny.

We have no photographs of him but I send for your inspection a photograph of a woodcut of him given in Chamber's 'Indian Mutiny'. Please return the photograph.

Bulletin of the Department of Archives, Maharashtra Archives, n.d., pp. 74-75:

Camp Chorwad.
Kathiawar,
25th May 1894.

My dear Lee-Warner,

Yours dated 21st May received yesterday. I should like to be allowed to keep the photograph of N. S. [Nana Saheb] a little longer and I should be very much obliged by your

letting me have all the information you can on the subject. I am certain I have found the man, but the question of identity is a difficult one, the greatest precautions have to be taken.

When in Bombay a short time ago, I spoke to Vincent on the subject and he promised to send me a man who knew N. S. personally. He has been living as a Bawa in a temple in a secluded part of my District for very many years. He takes nothing but milk & never leaves the temple. He will give no account of himself, this is opposed to the usual practice of Bawas. On seeing me, the first European he had seen for very many years, he was in such a state of fear and nervousness that he could hardly speak. Bawas as a rule have no fear of Europeans. You can see at a glance that he is a man of high caste.

Shave him & take into consideration the number of years that have passed since that photo was taken, and his mode of life, and you will find that the features correspond with the description sent to me from your office, *furthermore he has the scar of a lance wound on the left big toe as described*. He appears to be about 72 years of age. I believe he would disclose himself, were he assured of his life. My camp will be here till the 1st June, after that Rajkot.

E.V. Mackay

Bulletin of the Department of Archives, Maharashtra Archives, n.d., p. 75:

Charles S. Bayley, General Supdt. For Suppressing Thugs and Dacoits to Bombay Govt., dated 30 May 1894

My dear Lee-Warner

Your cipher telegram has just come. The only description we have of the Nana is that in 1857 he was in the above middle-height, round face, plump, eyes peculiarly set, age 30–33 years. He was not, it is said, then marked with smallpox.

Some authorities say that he had a scar on his forehead.

There is said to be a good description of the Nana in Sheppard's 'Cawnpore Massacre' but I have not got the book and there is no copy of it in the Foreign Office.

Bulletin of the Department of Archives, Maharashtra Archives, n.d., pp. 93-94:

My dear Lee-Warner,

I was not able to get out till Wednesday last. On that day I proceeded to Chotila 30 miles from here, and sent to Anandapur for the suspect. He has been residing in the temple at Anandapur for the last 20 years. Before that he lived in Serubal, a Jetpur village for 6 or 7 years. He contracted an intimacy with a woman and was turned out and lived in a temple about a mile from Serubal. After his arrival at Anandapur, he told the Kathis he wanted this woman; she was sent for; very shortly after he said he did not want her, and she was sent back. She eventually married a hasouta of Serubal. She is dead, he is alive and I am taking steps to have him brought here. Before living in Serubal, he resided sometime in Vankaneer territory. I am making inquiries about this. The suspect arrived at Chotila Thursday morning and took him along with me in my tonga, reaching Rajkot at 5-30 p.m....

Last evening I called Herbert to examine him, he did so, and I enclose his statement of marks found on him.

Herbert says the virile organ is as described in the evidence of Kesho Rao. The other marks also correspond and I think what Herbert writes about his toe nail is conclusive too. His ears are pierced as described, but there is no mark of an earring having been worn in the upper rim of the right ear. This is the only difference. As a rule I believe Mahrattas do not wear earrings in the upper rims of the ears. The man has altered a good deal since I saw him in February last, but the features are the features of the

Nana. His body has shrunk very much, this is no doubt accounted for his age and mode of life. He takes nothing but milk, and has taken nothing else for the last 20 years. 5 pounds of milk has been his food. He is an active wiry man now, keen and shrewd.

I would like to be allowed to shave his beard and whiskers; I am sure the likeness would then be more marked. May I have permission to do so before any one comes to identify him?

E.V. Mackay to Bombay Govt., 28 July 1894

***Bulletin of the Department of Archives*, Political Department Compilation No. 201, 1894, Maharashtra Archives, n.d., 80, 94-95, 193–96:**

No.9A: Statements concerning physical description of Nana Saheb.

1. *Statement of Mussamah Adla Musalman Prostitute.*

States—I was employed by the Nana Sahib for many years, about 20 years ago. He was a fine made man rather fair, not very dark and rather round, not long in the face. Face smooth with no marks. Stout in person. No pox marks on his person. Does not remember any on his face, scar on forehead not wart or mole, in nostril or cheek. Was 4 or 5 years in his service. He wore a moustache twisted up, not hanging down. She recollects no marks of lancet on his side, or that he had a toe[-]nail drawn out. He had very little hair on his chest and body. There were some but very little, not nearly as much as a man with small whiskers has on his face. Had very little hair on his legs. She remembers his wearing a ear ring of two pearls on upper rim of right ear.

No. 19B: Report of examination of the suspect by Civil Surgeon Capt. H. Herbert.

July 27th/94.

Certified the following is an accurate description of

marks found on the person of an old native examined by me at Mr. Mackay's request.

The penis shows undoubted signs of old inflammation. The organ becomes slightly bent to the left side when a little engorged from handling.

The left corpus cavernosum is somewhat shrunken & distinctly indurated. This has probably resulted from an old gonorrhoea. I have not examined for a possible structure, as this would necessitate the passing of instruments.

The *right great nail* is slightly deformed. It is distinctly shorter on the inner side than on the outer side; and shorter than the inner side than the corresponding nail of the other foot. There is a small scar running forward from the inner margin of this deformed nail to the front border of the toe. There was probably at one time inflammation of the matrix of the nail, or at any rate of the neighbouring skin & soft tongues. And the scar is possibly the result of an incision made to relieve this. There is a very faint, almost obliterated, but depressed scar on the inner side of left thigh rather above its middle.

There is some pigmentation on the back between the shoulder blades just to the left of the middle line. This pigmented area is roughly about an inch long vertically & half an inch broad. It consists of several smaller separate spots, with ill-defined margins. Some of these are distinctly depressed especially when the shoulder blades are approximated. This is such as might be the result of a 'boil', or rather carbuncle, of many years ago.

There is a pigmented scar about ¾ inch long on the back of the chest, right side, 3¼ inches from the middle line that appears to be the result of an incision. It is such as might have been made for a small abscess or 'boil'; as from its breadth it must have taken a little time in healing, and hence possibly been made into inflamed skin.

His face is deeply pitted with small pox.

No. 70: With reference to the letters (vide Nos. 52 and 61) from Bombay Govt., the Govt. of India expresses its

opinion on the stand taken by Bombay Govt. regarding enquiry against the suspect.

No. 2 C.
From
J.P. Hewett, Esquire, C.I.E.,
Offg. Secretary to the Government of India.

To
The Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay,
Political Dept.
Simla the 28th Sept. 1894.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential letters No. 305 P. dated the 20th August last and No. 372 P, dated the 3rd Septr., regarding the procedure of the Bombay Government in the matter of the suspicions which have been entertained that a certain individual in Kathiawar is Dhondoo Pant, the Nana of Bithur.

2. In the former letter an account is given of the steps taken under the direction of the Governor in Council, for the identification of the suspected person, and with reference to the request of the Government of India contained in the telegram of 9th August that no action of any kind might be taken in the matter, and to the explanation given in my confidential letter of 13th August, of the reasons which led the Governor General in Council to issue these orders, a justification of the proceedings of the Government of Bombay in instituting the inquiry without informing the Government of India is submitted.

3. The Government of India agree with the Governor in Council that in ordinary cases it would be a matter of Police routine that the local authorities should take action under sections 54 and 55 of the Criminal Procedure Code in respect of persons to whom those sections apply, and but for the exceptional character of the case under notice, the proceedings of the Bombay Government would have been generally suitable and in accordance with the relations

subsisting between the Govt. of India, and the Local Governments. The case under notice, however, is not of an ordinary but of an exceptional character, and the Governor General in Council is unable to accept the view that it was not incumbent on the Bombay Government to report to His Excellency in Council the suspicion that the notorious Dhondoo Punt might be still alive within the territory under their control. The detention and trial of a person suspected of being the Nana Sahib must excite passionate feelings which would not only be confined to the Presidency of Bombay but would in fact be fierce and general in other parts of India and especially in the neighbourhood of the place where the Nana perpetrated his crimes and where the trial would have to be held. In the opinion of the Governor General in Council it was a question of Imperial concern, which could only be decided by the Government of India, whether the probability of prosecuting to convicting the person suspected of being the Nana Sahib was sufficiently great to justify the excitement of passions which would result in any case and the diminution of moral influence which must follow an unsuccessful prosecution. The Governor General in Council is of course satisfied that His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in Council took the course which he considered in the circumstances to be right, but he is unable to accept the view that it was the function of the Local Government to establish the identity of the suspected person and then to report the matter to the Government of India. The letter of 11th November 1874 to the Government of the North Western Provinces was not cited by the Government of India as an authoritative decision on the course to be pursued, but as an indication that the view entertained by the Governor General in Council now was entertained in somewhat similar circumstances twenty years ago; but even accepting that letter as authoritative on the course to be pursued now, it is clear from it that in an inquiry into the case of a person alleged to be Dhondoo Pant evidence and action might be required in all parts of

India, and that such evidence and action applied as much to the enquiry into the identity of a person suspected of being the Nana as to the procuring of testimony to establish before a Court of Justice the commission of the crime laid to the Nana's charge. These considerations and those which were stated in my letter of August 13th led the Governor General in Council to issue the orders of the 9th idem desiring the Government of Bombay to abstain from taking further action in this matter, and after giving his most careful attention to the representation of the Government of Bombay, His Excellency in Council regrets that he is unable to modify the opinion already expressed in my letter dated the 13th August that it would have been better if the Government of Bombay had taken the Government of India into their confidence from the beginning.

4. The witnesses from the North Western Provinces having failed to identify the suspected Bawa as the Nana Sahib, the inquiry as far as it was one to test the identity of the suspected person with the rebel Dhondoo Punt, has come to a close. But the Government of Bombay are pressing their inquiries in order to place beyond doubt the question of the identity of Mohardat Dhurandhar. The Government of India will await the report which is promised but I am to request that if any incident occurs or evidence appears tending to show that he is the Nana Sahib no further steps may be taken or witnesses brought from any Province without previous communication with the Government of India. If any further grounds appear for suspecting the man to be the Nana Sahib, the Governor General in Council wishes to consider fully the action which in that case should be taken on a complete statement of the evidences that the enquiries of the Government of Bombay lead them to think will be forthcoming.

H.J. THORNTON, surgeon 1st Bengal Light Calvary, Mhow, *The Englishman*, 21 November 1857, reprinted in Anonymous (Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee), *The Mutinies and the People*:

A trooper, named Sunker Singh, who has been invalided and was a private servant of mine, came running to me from the cavalry lines and said that the Sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry had mutinied and were firing on their officers. On my telling him that it was my intention to gallop to the Fort, he begged that I would not do so, as I would be killed by some of the men who occupied the only road (in the station) to the Fort, but he said that the Sepoys were murdering the officers of their respective regiments, all of whom had been in the lines, until the moment of the mutiny ...

—(Anonymous, 1859: 41–43)

JOHN NICHOLSON, quoted in John Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*:

Let us propose a Bill for the flaying alive, impalement, or burning of the murderers of the women and children at Delhi. The idea of simply hanging the perpetrators of such atrocities is maddening. I wish that I were in that part of the world, that if necessary I might take the law into my own hands ...

As regards torturing the murderers of the women and children: if it be right otherwise, I do not think we should refrain from it, because it is a Native custom. We are told in the Bible that stripes shall be meted out according to faults, and if hanging is sufficient punishment for such wretches, it is too severe for ordinary mutineers. If I had them in my power today, and knew that I were to die tomorrow, I would inflict the most excruciating tortures I could think of on them with a perfectly easy conscience ...

I fear in your [Henry Tucker, Commissioner of Madras] case your natural tenderness. But, consider that we have to crucify these affections as well as our lusts. The magistrate bears not the sword in vain. The Word of God gives no authority to the modern tenderness for human life which would save even the mutineer. It is necessary to all Eastern lands to establish a fear and awe of the Government ...

—(John Nicholson in Kaye, 1875, Vol.2: 401–03)

Letter from Mirzapore, dated 22 June 1857, in the *Englishman*, 27 June 1857:

I wrote you some days ago regarding the mutiny of the native troops stationed at Cawnpore; since then I have met with another individual, who left Cawnpore on the 12th instant, and from whom I learnt further particulars ... All the residents are within the entrenchments, it is the object of the rascals now to starve them there ... I am glad to say that none of the European inhabitants have been murdered; this was owing to their prudence in meeting every night near the entrenchments.

Sita Ram, *From Sepoy to Subedar* (1873):[2]

It chanced that about this time the *Sirkar* sent parties of men from each regiment to different regiment to different garrisons for instruction in the use of the new rifle. These men performed the new drill for some time until a report got about, by some means or other, that the cartridges used for these new rifles were greased with the fat of cows and

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[2]On the veracity of this document see Mukherjee, *Mangal Pandey*, note 7, pp. 101-02.

pigs. The men from our regiment wrote to others in the regiment telling them of this, and there was soon excitement in every regiment ... Interested parties were quick to point out that the great aim of the English was to turn us all into Christians, and they had therefore introduced the cartridge in order to bring this about, since both Mahommedans and Hindus would be defiled by using it.

I reported this curious story to my officer but no notice was taken. He only told me not to talk about it. Some time later an order was read out to the regiment from the Commander-in-Chief, or Governor-General *sahib*, saying that the *Sirkar* had not used any objectionable fat but that in future the men could make up their own cartridges and use their own grease ... However the very reading out of this order was seized upon by many as proof that the *Sirkar* had broken our caste, since otherwise the order would never have been issued. What was the use of a denial if it had not been the Government's intention originally to break our caste? ...

In a short time the entire country was in a ferment and every regiment was reported to be ripe for mutiny ... I went again to see the Deputy Commissioner and offered to collect the furlough men of my own regiment, as well as any pensioners who could use arms. He thanked me and promised to let me know if I would be required to do this. Shortly afterwards the regiments at Lucknow, Sitapore, and other stations in Oudh broke out into open mutiny, and the country was overrun with *sepoys* from these regiments ...

One day a large party of *sepoys* from one of the mutinied regiments came through my village, and I tried to persuade them to go quietly to their houses. I explained to them the folly of going against the English Government, but these men were so intoxicated with the plunder they had taken, and by their hope of reward from the Emperor of Delhi, that they turned on me and were about to shoot me on the spot for having dared to speak out in favour of the English Government. They called me a traitor, and ended by

taking me prisoner ... My captors boasted of the deeds they had done—how the *sahibs* had been so easily killed, or terrified into running away into the jungles like hares—and they were convinced that the English rule had ended throughout India ...

This was what they said in public but inwardly they were terrified of coming up against the English ...

The prisoners were to be shot at four o'clock in the afternoon and I must be my son's executioner! Such is fate! I went to the Major *sahib* and requested that I might be relieved of this duty as a very great favour. He was very angry and said he would bring me before a court-martial for trying to shirk my duty. He would not believe I was a faithful servant of the English Government—he thought my real sympathies were with the mutineers—and he would not listen to me any further. At last my feelings as a father got the better of me and I burst into floods of tears. I told him that I would shoot every one of the prisoners with my own hands if he ordered me but I confessed that one of them was my own son. The Major declared that I was only making up an excuse to avoid having to shoot my own brethren but at last his heart seemed to be touched ...

I shall never forget this terrible scene. Not for one moment did I consider requesting that his life should be spared—that he did not deserve. Eventually the Major came to believe in the truth of my statement and ordered me to be relieved from this duty ... In a short time I heard a volley. My son had received the reward for mutiny! ... Through the kindness of the Major I was allowed to perform the funeral rites over my misguided son. He was the only one of the prisoners over whom it was performed, for the remainder were all thrown to the jackals and the vultures.

—(Sita Ram, 1988 [1873]: 162, 164-65, 168)

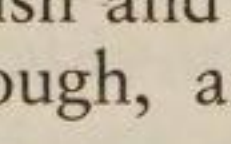
OPINIONS AND REACTIONS

British responses to the events of 1857 were mostly tinged with bitterness, bewilderment and anger. They saw themselves as having been betrayed by the very people whose progress and security they had sought to ensure and protect.

As details of the Kanpur massacre, the suffering of the Englishwomen and children, and the deaths of many officers spread across India and reached England the response was uniformly furious. Letters to newspapers and commentaries pleaded for stronger reprisals against the ingrate sepoy. Condemning the Indian sepoy was often accompanied by a search for causes. This ranged from an objective appraisal of British rule in India to the role of Islam and Hinduism as causal factors.

However, what is interesting is the amount of material that castigates the British for failing in India. Numerous documents of the time express British attempts to understand/ justify the sepoy's actions. Some tried to justify the 'mutiny' as a reaction to British policy and attitudes. Some commentators admitted that proselytizing had damaged the relations between the British and Indians. Others felt that it had simply not been enough, and that more Christianity was needed.

The documents of the time explored psychology, political economy, Indian history and sociological studies of the Indian mind, faith and social systems. The emotions showcased range from guilt to anger, puzzlement to resolute diffidence. While racialized attitudes are clearly visible in many of these writings on 1857, several startle us with their sharp criticism of the empire. There was, evidently, a division in the response to 'India 1857'.



***The Times*, 29 July 1857:**

The movement [Mutiny] is likely to be confined to Delhi ... It is ... probable that the next mail will bring news of the suppression of this dangerous outbreak ...

A tumult like this ought to excite little surprise ... The notion that the discontent was confined only to one or two regiments and arose from trifling and local causes—the greasing of a cartridge or the imbecility of certain officers—is now shown to be inadequate for the explanation of what has occurred ... A movement as universal and so independent of conditions and circumstances must have its roots in feelings which the prejudices of religion or the neglect of a proper supervision may indeed have strengthened, but which they could hardly have produced ... The fact seems to be that we have arrived at that point in our Indian career where the total subjection of the native element and the organization of all that we have conquered become a matter of necessity. We have gone so far in the conquest of the country that it is now necessary to complete the task. What we have done is too much, and yet not enough for tranquility ...

The tenure of land, the administration of law, were altered by us less than they would have been by any race of conquerors ...

But this system has had its day ... For a hundred years Mahomedans and Hindoos have submitted willingly to a people who were always conquering and never converting...

The first thing, of course, is to put down force by force ...

We cannot now refuse our part or change our destiny. To retain power in India we must sweep away every political establishment and every social usage which prevent our influence from being universal and complete.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 82 (1857), p. 658:

Our army—the sepoys whom we had disciplined and trusted; who had eaten of our bread; had fought by our sides; had shared our prosperity and perils—rose in rebellion against us—not in the rebellion of men resisting wrong and asserting right, but in the rebellion of fiends and demons, wild with

lust, ferocity and bloodthirstiness. Dark as the world's history is with crime and woe, they have made it darker still. Horrors such as men have seldom perpetrated in cold blood, outrages on women and children, atrocities and cruelties devilish in their kind—murder, treachery, rapine, mutiny—have been the expression of their rebellion.

JOHN BONHAM, *Oude in 1857*:

There was much to be said in justification of the men's objection to the cartridges, for it was admitted that the grease used was tallow, but what the tallow was composed of was never satisfactorily shown, and it is more than probable that it contained animal fat. But, on the other hand, although the cartridges were prepared, and would in the ordinary course have been served out to the men for use, as a matter of fact, they were not sufficiently advanced in their drill to be required to use them.

—(Bonham, 1928: 19)

LETTER, *The Englishman*, 11 June 1857:

Every true lover of his country and of peace must hope that the Governor General will instruct the Commander-in-Chief to exterminate the whole brood of insurrectionists. Cut up all who resist—hang all who (from fear or other causes) may hereafter give themselves up. Let the lesson be a lasting one to the Indian races for all time ...

The question of caste or religion has had nothing to do with the movement whatever, and all our best men (sepoys) at this station acknowledge that it is only put forward as an excuse, and that the 'real cause' has sprung out of a legacy left us by the 'Prince of Pigs' Lord Dalhousie ...

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY, ***Life and Letters*:**

Horrible news from India; massacre of Europeans at Delhi, and mutiny. I have no apprehensions for our Indian Empire; but it is a frightful event ... I cannot settle to work while the Delhi affair is undecided ...

The cruelties of the sepoys have inflamed the nation to a degree unprecedented within my memory. Peace Societies, and Aborigines Protection Societies, and Societies for the Reformation of Criminals, are silenced. There is one terrible cry for revenge. The account of that dreadful military execution at Peshawur—forty men blown at once from the mouths of cannon—their heads, legs, arms flying in all directions—was read with delight by people who three weeks ago were against all capital punishment. Bright himself declares for the vigorous suppression of the mutiny. The almost universal feeling is that not a single sepoy within the walls of Delhi should be spared; and I own that it is a feeling which I cannot help sympathizing ...

The Indian business looks ill. This miserable affair at Dinapore may produce serious inconvenience. However, the tide is near the turn. Within a month the flood of English will come in fast. But is painful to be so revengeful as I feel myself ... And these feelings are not mine alone. Is it possible that a year passed under the influence of such feelings should not have some effect on the national character? The effect will be partly good and partly bad. The nerves of our minds will be braced. Effeminate, mawkish philanthropy will lose all its influence. But shall we not hold human life generally cheaper than we have done? Having brought ourselves to exult in the misery of the guilty, shall we not feel less sympathy for the sufferings of the innocent? In one sense, no doubt, in exacting a tremendous retribution we are doing our duty, and performing an act of mercy ... Yet the habit of hanging murderers is found to inure the character ...

I have some complaints however to make of the past year. The Indian troubles have affected my spirits more than any public events in the whole course of my life ... the Indian mutiny has now lasted several months, and may last months still. The emotions which it excites, too, are of a strong kind. I may say that, till this year, I did not know what real vindictive hatred meant. With what horror I used to read in Livy how Fulvius put to death the whole Capuan Senmate in the Second Punic War! And with what equanimity I could hear that the whole garrison of Delhi, all the Moulavies and Mussulman Doctors there, and all the rabble of the bazaar had been treated in the same way! Is this wrong? Is not the severity which springs from a great sensibility to human suffering a better thing than the lenity which springs from indifference to human suffering?

—(Macaulay, 1978, Vol. 2: 358–60, 362)

The Times, 19 May 1857, p. 9:

Why indeed, should Hindostan or Hindoos change in accordance with what is considered the march of mind? Surely we have enough of paradox, enough of mingled science and superstition, strength and dotage, in the world nearer home ... Why should not these enrolled Asiatic villagers revolt because the cartridge of the last invented rifle offends their creed of many thousand years? ... It remains, therefore, that we, the rulers of the country, should take precautions against the recurrence of these outbreaks of fanaticism. Such a danger as the revolt of 5000 armed men in a district where only a single European regiment was quartered is a sufficient warning to the most secure Government, a sufficient reminder of mortality to the most triumphant power ...

So deeply rooted are these superstitions of centuries, so widespread is the fear that the supremacy of the Company

means danger to the hereditary faith, that the mutinous spirit has spread beyond the limits of the garrison ...

Although the Hindoo may not have much changed, the power of the British Government has been consolidated and secured, so that mercy may be shown without imprudence ... But now that the whole of India has been thoroughly subdued, and that from Afghanistan to the borders of Siam there is no power which even aspires to oppose us, we may be humane while we are politic, and be content to punish disobedience by loss of pay and pension, without a resort to artillery or a charge of the bayonet. It is reassuring, moreover, that the Mussulman, the Sikh, the Ghoorks, have no share in the prejudices of the Hindoos. The Government may always count on the votaries of Islam for support in any tumult arising from the teaching of an idolatrous creed.

Still we could wish to see a larger number of European troops at hand on such an occasion ... We have conquered India by British hands, and by them it must be retained. Nothing will render the improvement of the country so difficult, nothing will so unsettle the minds of a people easy to be impressed, and likely to find evil advisers to impress them, as the suspicion that there is any weakness in us.

LONDON CORRESPONDENT, *Delhi Gazette Extra*, 10 July 1857:

The British public remain utterly impassive and indifferent, and become impatient when the subject is broached in conversation. They have made up their mind that it was entirely owing to the insolence and incompetence of the Regimental Officers, and seem rather glad that they have suffered for their supposed dereliction of duty.

LETTER, *The Lahore Chronicle* (Supplement), 13 June 1857:

How satisfying it would have been to read that these 150

murderers had also been shot instead of being about to be first tried ... such men don't deserve a trial.

Benjamin Disraeli, quoted in Charles Ball, *History of the Indian Mutiny*:

Upon the same subject, the Hon. Disraeli, at Aylesbury, spoke as follows, at a meeting held on the 30th of September: 'One of the greatest calamities that ever befell this empire has fallen upon it. It is not for us at present to enter into the causes of those great disasters, or to enquire who are the individuals upon whom the responsibility for them must ultimately rest; but there are two considerations which cannot, at such a moment, be absent from the minds of Englishmen. In the best of every man, there must now exist a finding of profound sympathy for those of our fellow-subjects in India, whose sufferings have dimmed every eye and pained every heart in the kingdom. And there must be equally present in every mind, an anxiety that the government should at this crisis take those steps which may be adequate to the occasion, to vindicate our empire and maintain our glory. I believe it is not the universal conviction that the description originally given of these unfortunate and extraordinary movements in India was not authorized by the circumstances of the case. Day by day, we have seen this that which was at first characterized as a slight and accidental occurrence, is in fact in the history of mankind, and which can only be accounted for by considerations demanding the deepest attention from statements and nations. But, although three months have elapsed since the startling news of these disasters originally arisen in England—although every succeeding mail has brought to us gloomy intelligence showing that these disasters are dominating to a proportion infinitely more than the country at first imagined—though we cannot flatter ourselves that by the next mail; or by the mail after that, or even for a considerable extent to come,

we shall hear the cheerful news which we were informed so surely would immediately reach us, but it has hitherto eluded our expectation—though I foresee much evil, still I do not, and I never have, counseled despondency or despair. But I am persuaded that if we wish to repair these misfortunes we must recognize their magnitude and importance, and that it is only upon this recognition that we can devise remedies adequate to the emergency. Greater disasters may follow. We shall probably learn that the Mahratta princes have risen against us. We must prepare ourselves for insurgencies in Punjab—a province which we are always told has been faithful ... I have not had slightest doubt that a nation so great ... will grow that it is equal to cope with the dangers ... Our perils arise not merely from those who have rebelled against our authority—our dangers spring not alone from the insurrection which may arise in our distant dependencies: if we undervalue the gravity of the crisis in which we are placed, our greatest danger will be within ourselves. I may be permitted, therefore, to express my hope and belief that if, towards the end of this year, a force of sufficient strength is landed on the shores of Hindustan—if that force is guided with the wisdom and energy we have a right to—if the measures taken are strong and comprehensive enough for the emergency, we shall be able to vindicate our empire, and shall have an opportunity, of which we may avail ourselves, to lay the conditions of a stable and, I trust, a virtuous government. And, allow me to say—that I do it invidiously to no one—that I simply regret that we do not see the preparations which the occasion seems to justify. I would ask this question, as the subject has been introduced to us, not with reference to the conduct of any political party, but with regard to what at this moment deeply interests Englishmen—"How is that all this time the navy of England never appears to have played any part in the measures of preservation to which we have had recourse?" We are now told that it is mainly by availing ourselves of our gunboats that we shall be able to penetrate into the

interior, and convey succour to our beleaguered countrymen. But there is not a gunboat in India. I see by the last accounts that the accidental arrival of a single frigate—the *Shannon*—was hailed with rapture by the inhabitants of Calcutta. Why, there are fifty frigates like *Shannon* in England. What are they doing? Where are they? Why are they not there? Are they cleaning their decks, and squaring their yards? But if the casual arrival of a single frigate so much emboldens the authorities of Calcutta, and gives so much hope and encouragement to our European population, I say that is a proof that we ought to have an adequate naval force there, and that there should be gunboats, which might at this moment carry help and relief to our besieged countrymen at Lucknow and Agra. I take this opportunity, therefore, of expressing my hope that the people of this country will convey to those in authority that at the present conjuncture, while they are ready to support any ministry in any measures which will assert the empire of England, and tend to bring rescue to our suffering countrymen in India, they do expect from any government that this noble disposition shall be wisely taken advantage of, and that the measures devised shall be commensurate with the exigency; and when, at the end of the year, that grand advance into the country takes place which we anticipate, I have no doubt, and I expect, that all that retribution—if I may use the expression—which the solemn necessity of the case requires will be exacted. But I may be permitted to add that I trust nothing more will be exacted than the necessity of the case does require. The horrors of war need no stimulant. The horrors of war, carried on as the war in India is at present, especially need no stimulant. I am persuaded that our soldiers and our sailors will exact a retribution which it may, perhaps, be too terrible to pause upon. But I do, without the slightest hesitation, declare my humble disapprobation at persons in high authority announcing that, upon the standard of England, 'vengeance', and not 'justice', should be inscribed. At this moment, I see by the newspapers that her majesty

has issued a proclamation for a day inviting her people to follow her, will humble herself before the Almighty, acknowledge her sins and those of her people, and express her belief that, in the existence of those sins, some cause of these terrible calamities may be found. Now, how inconsistent it is for us, as a great and good people, to obey commands so earnestly communicated to us by our sovereign, to talk of fasts and humiliations, and at the same time announce that in the conduct of our foes we are to find the model for our own behaviour. I, for one, protest against taking Nana Sahib as a model for the conduct of the British soldier. I protest against meeting atrocities by atrocities. I have heard things said, and seen them written of late, which would make me almost suppose that the religious opinions of the people of England had undergone some sudden change; and that instead of bowing before the name of Jesus, we were preparing to revive the worship of Moloch. I cannot believe that it is our duty to indulge in such a spirit. I think that what has happened in India is a great Providential lesson, by which we may profit; and if we meet it like brave and inquiring men, we may assert our dominion, and establish for the future in India a government which may prove at once lasting and honourable to this country. I hope that the clergy of our church, on the occasion that is impending, will seize the opportunity afforded them, while they support the spirit of the people by the consciousness of the Divine assistance, to impress at the same time on the national mind that this is a Christian country, and that the character of a Christian warrior is not only to be brave, but to be merciful.'

—(Benjamin Disraeli quoted in Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 418–20)

LETTER, *The Englishman*, 1 July 1857:

Let the Indian Army consist of 100,000 European troops, and 100,000 Native troops.

Of the latter, 30,000 to be Parsees, 10,000 Sikhs, 2000 Gurkhas, 10,000 Hindostanees, and 48,000 natives of Bombay and Madras ...

Let treasuries, arsenals and magazines be placed in redoubts, these again enclosed by earthen entrenchments, which should also contain the bells of arms for native troops, and the quarters of European officers. Let the place of arms for native troops be so placed as to be exposed to a cross-fire from the wall of the European barracks, and from the Artillery Station. It will then be impossible for sepoys to obtain possession of their arms during the night, or at any time, but by permission ...

Stop recruiting for the Native Artillery, and replace them gradually by European. This powerful army should be entirely in the hands of our own countrymen.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 90 (1861), p. 101:

We all deplore the great madness of 1857, than which, so far as it went, nothing could have been worse. It was assuredly a terrible blot upon the fair fame of the Indian army; but, at worst, it was only the rebellion of a part of that Indian army. It is common to speak of the outbreak as if the whole army had violently thrown off its allegiance, and given itself up to the infectious character of this disease of the mutiny ... it is a subject of admiration that so large a portion of the Indian army remained, throughout all that troubled period, true to its alien masters. Nor should it be forgotten that even some of those rebellious regiments, which died at last in such fiery convulsions, had years and years, perhaps nearly a century, of good and faithful service written down to their credit in the military annals of our Indian empire.

LETTER, *The Lahore Chronicle* (Supplement), 13 June 1857:

No stranger native should be ever permitted to enter it [Lahore Fort]. The Mausoleum of the Kings should be leveled to the ground. The bazaars should not be touched, nor the shopkeepers disturbed. Carry your vengeance into the palace, leave not one, not even a cub to foster mischief hereafter ... Leave not an Emir, or prince alive, or any belonging to them. Crush every appearance of prestige—obliterate every vestige of secular religions and political mummery ... The rage of the first shout and rush—will be quenched only in the blood of the inhabitants ...

There is no other way of crushing the cowardly natives, and keeping them in awe, and holding to them a beacon of future safety.

But misplaced clemency will render all our bloodshed, all our revenge perfectly nugatory. Show mercy where it is meet, not to those who have thirsted for our blood ... Now is the time to temper justice with severity. If you lose this chance of striking home, making India tremble, end your consolidating power—'tis all over with India, and the Government.

WILLIAM MUIR, *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Government of the North-West Provinces*:

Memorandum, Drawn up at the Request of the Governor-General, of enquiries into the Alleged Dishonour of European Females at the time of the Mutinies—Submitted 30th December 1857.

Agra, 30th December 1857

I venture to believe that your Lordship [Lord Canning—Ed.] will view the result, substantiated generally by the opinions now submitted, as satisfactory. A melancholy satisfaction

indeed it is; but yet such as may be calculated to lighten many a heart bowed down ...

William Muir

Attached to this Memorandum is a copy of the opinions which I have collected.

Mr Reade has been in touch with the best informed natives of this city; he has also been in correspondence with people of other quarters, and has had ample opportunity for enquiring into the evidence which has from time to time been received from the scenes of the various tragedies. His deliberate opinion is that the stories of dishonour done to European females are generally false ...

He [Reade] adds as a supplementary reason that the colour of European females is repugnant to the Oriental taste, and that crimes of the nature alluded to never have been perpetrated, even when there was full opportunity for their perpetration. I do not myself allow the natives of this country credit for dislike or insensibility towards the European complexion, and, even if admitted, it might not prove a conclusive argument in the present question; because it is apparently one of the current theories that dishonour was done, not to gratify passion, but to inflict shame and degradation upon the English name.

But the object of the Mutineers was, I believe, not so much to disgrace our name as to wipe out all traces of Europeans, and of everything connected with foreign rule.

In the massacres perpetrated with this object the demon of cruelty was let loose, and barbarity in every inhuman shape indulged. The set of passions, however, called into play was, I conceive, distinct from those which would have tempted to the commission of the suspected practices. There was cold and heartless bloodthirstiness, at the farthest remove from the lust of desire.

As there was, therefore, no dishonour committed on principle, with the view of inflicting disgrace, so likewise, as it appears to me, there was no dishonour done from passion...

The second letter is from Mr F. Williams, Commr. of Meerut. He was present as Judge at the outbreak there ...

The case of horrid mutilation, after death, of a pregnant lady, noticed by Mr. Williams, may serve, perhaps, to explain the manner in which the painful rumours of violation gained currency ... But the very veiling of the transaction by the remark (a likely one in ordinary correspondence) that it is too horrible to be mentioned, would naturally lead the reader to the conclusion that the dishonour was of the worst character, and that the poor victims had been abandoned to the brutalities of lust as well as to the last cruelties of a fiendish rage.

I believe that the most of the stories—those which are not wanton fabrications—must have grown up in this manner ...

Major G.W. Williams, Superintendent of Police Battalions ... is peculiarly qualified to give an opinion which may be relied on. His testimony, founded as well on the evidence of competent witnesses, as on the universal impression amongst the natives, is that there was no dishonour done to our females at the breaking out of disturbances anywhere ...

The report of Mr Saunders, Offg. Commr. and Agent to the Lt.-Governor at Delhi is most complete and decisive, that neither at Meerut nor Delhi was murder preceded by dishonour ...

Mr Thornhill's position, officiating as the Secretary to Government, and the numerous enquiries which he has personally directed ... render his authority second to none. He states truly that Hindoos, except of the lowest grades, would have become outcasts had they perpetrated this offence. Neither would Mahomedans have done so in the unconcealed manner which has been supposed at home. Such procedure would have been repugnant to the feelings and habits of the country, and would have required strong and direct evidence to have secured any credence ...

While, however, there is nothing to have prevented the Mahomedans from carrying off women, whom they intended

to preserve alive, to their harems, all the evidence yet obtained is entirely opposed to the supposition that ladies of English blood were anywhere reserved for that disgrace. There may have been instances in which females of colour have been forcibly subjected, or, to save their lives, have consented to such treatment ...

In respect of Jhansi, there is evidence, direct and indirect, that there was no dishonour done to the women. The same is the case with Cawnpore, the solitary exception being the story regarding Miss Wheeler, the truth of which can be best sifted by Mr. Sherer on the spot ...

I gladly add my testimony that nothing has come to my knowledge which would in the smallest degree support any of the tales of dishonour current in our public prints. Direct evidence, wherever procurable, has been steadily and consistently against them ...

Judging, however, from the great accumulation of negative evidence, supported as it also is in many important points by direct and positive proof, it may safely be asserted that there are fair grounds for believing that violation before murder was in no case committed; and that, if women of colour have anywhere been carried off and dishonoured, such cases must be rare and peculiar, and have occurred under circumstances which in all likelihood will hereafter be explained ...

Memorandum of Mr E.A. Reade:

The natives of India, both Hindoos and Mahomedans (and the latter are much Hindooised in their habits and notions), have a repugnance to sexual connection with European females. During thirty years of Indian experience the only instances that have come to my knowledge have been a few cases of voluptuaries sated with Oriental beauty seeking for variety.

Let anyone reflect how many young girls without any escort or protection have traveled alone in palankeens from Calcutta to Delhi; or, again, call to mind cases where such

travelers on boats have been attacked and plundered in former days, and yet I cannot recollect any instance of violation of European females, either by their attendants or by robbers. Fanaticism and idolatry are equally cruel, but Indian lust is almost always the lust of bloodshed and plunder only ...

From Mr Fleetwood Williams, Commissioner, Meerut

I never heard any sort of mention of European females being violated here, at Meerut ...

One poor lady who was advanced in pregnancy was ripped open, the child taken out, and was found put round the poor lady's neck. But, as far as I can ascertain, violation was not added to the other atrocities here as regards Europeans ...

From C.B. Saunders, Officiating Commissioner and Agent Lieutenant-Governor:

I have taken considerable pains to ascertain whether there is any foundation for the tales which have obtained publication in the public prints regarding violence having been offered to poor Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford, and am perfectly satisfied that they were not in any way ill-treated before death. Every account I have received confirms the fact that they were at once killed by the Palace rabble and others who rushed up into the quarters of the Commandment of the Palace Guards and there and then massacred the whole party assembled ...

As you say, there may have been rare and exceptional cases in which ladies at other stations have been ill-treated, and possibly some half-caste women may yet be alive who have been obliged to sacrifice their honour, but I doubt very much if there have been many such ...

William Muir:

In respect to all other places but Cawnpoor, there was no doubt but that my memorandum distinctly indicated the

sense prevalent at Gwalior. The case of the Gwalior ladies is a good sample of the general feeling. They were as much in the power of the soldiery as the ladies anywhere else, and were far from escaping insult and cruel treatment, insomuch that swords were presented at their throats to extract even their wedding rings. Yet the shadow of an attempt at their honour there was not ...

There are points connected with the long detention of the Nana's victims which render Cawnpoor a peculiar case, and may cast a suspicion on the treatment of the prisoners there; certainly (so far as present evidence goes) attaching to no other quarter ...

—(Muir, 1902: 367–79)

JOHN BRUCE NORTON, *The Rebellion in India*:

I do not say that our general policy in India, for the last few years especially, has been tending to bring about such a consummation; and that if it be persevered in—if people will not investigate the true causes, and *all* the causes which may have helped to lead to the present insurrection with its attendant horrors; if they will allow themselves to be led aside from the proper course of inquiry, or to be lulled again into security and forgetfulness, by assertions that the evil was merely temporary and local, and that all spirit of disaffection has been extinguished—then ...

When the present rebellion has been suppressed (I write while it is still unchecked) and its immediate authors punished, I doubt not we shall be told that such outbursts visit India periodically; that we are stronger than ever, since the Native soldiery has seen the hopelessness of revolt. Historical precedents of former dangers, which threatened our empire with ruin, and which have been averted, will be quoted. It will be asserted, that the origin of the present crisis is *purely* military disaffection, such as that which formerly led to the mutiny at Vellore, or all but broke out

among even the European officers of the Indian army in Clive's time. It will be declared to be entirely isolated from the people; that the masses took no share in it, and that it does not afford any proof, indeed scarcely leads to any inference, that the people at large are disaffected. Indeed the apathy of the people to the events passing among them will be cited as a convincing proof that the Government is in the main popular; and thus the rebellion will be vouched as a test both of our strength and our popularity. Those remedies, it will be said, are sufficient, which seek to improve the condition of the Native army, or by the increase of the European regiments, to counterpoise and over-awe the turbulent Native troops. These and the like lines of argument will be sedulously put forth, because they flatter the vanity and screen the incompetence of our Indian civil administration. Indeed this driveling cry, which, if it prevails now, will cost us our empire hereafter, has been already raised. Only a day or two ago, a civilian, high in office and of high repute, was heard expressing precisely the views which I have suggested, as he twitted a military officer with the outbreak of the sepoys, and contrasted military insurbordination and military administration with civil administration and the quiet of the people; and with many these assertions will prevail.

The conduct of some of the villagers towards the European fugitives in the neighbourhood of Delhi, the ready assistance afforded by the Rajahs of Puttialah, Bhurtpoor, and Gwalior, may be regarded by some as signs that the rebellion is confined to the troops and those immediately influenced by them; but when was any revolution in India brought about by the people not of the military classes, though it may be presumed that we shall not readily admit that the people at large had more reason to be contented with their former rule than our own? It is not that disaffection exists only in the army; the true difference is that with the army disaffection is organized; among the people at large it has no expression, because it has no organization. The

extent to which the people have participated in the rebellion cannot yet be ascertained. At first, the Government bulletins staunchly declared that the 'people were with us to a man'; but that cry has long since ceased. It is, of course, good policy for the Government to endeavour to persuade districts yet peaceful of the truth of such an important fact; but I, for one, would no more pin my entire faith to such representations from such a quarter, than I would trust the Roman account of the Carthaginians, or the man's painting of the lion. There is no doubt that civil emissaries have been tampering in various quarters with military virtue. The Irregular Cavalry in the North-West has been burning the *villages* in the neighbourhood of which the telegraphic wires have been cut. I have seen many accounts which speak but ill of the temper of the people ...

The signs or symptoms are clear enough. They are those of a widespread disaffection; a hatred not of obnoxious individuals who have given offence to their immediate inferiors; not a class feeling of the soldiery against their officers; but a general antipathy to the European race, which exhibits itself in the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children, as well as men, without reference to age, occupation, or station, attended by a savage ferocity aiming at total extermination. The Cavalry mutineers from Meerut, as they marched through the streets of Delhi, refused to plunder: they declared they came for life, not loot. Blood was their object, and they pointed to the marks of the fetters on their legs as their reason and their justification. Do not let the fatal mistake in our diagnosis be committed of fancying that this outbreak is merely the local exhibition of discontent on the part of a few disaffected regiments. It will be found to extend from one end of Bengal to the other, and probably to embrace all classes, civil as well as military. It leaps from one distant point to another almost simultaneously. Thus the same post brings intelligence of risings at Sattarah, at Nagpore, at Jhansi. Its origin is partly, if not principally, political. The answer of

the sepoys to their officers at Neemuch may show us that. The dying speech of the traitor at Sattarah shows us that. Within three little months 50,000 soldiers have turned rebels!

If grievances are really found to exist, they must be redressed; if the constitution of the army is defective, it must be altered; if the old loyal spirit of the sepoy has been shaken, it must be re-established; if we have Praetorian bands among us, they must be coerced; but these are questions of detail which may be well left for the consideration of the highest military authorities; they are not matters on which I feel inclined to dwell, or could usefully do so, had I the inclination. Suffice it briefly to point out that the augmentation of our armies not having kept pace with the increase of our territories, the Native troops have now much heavier labour to perform than had their forefathers; that they are cut up into small detachments, and generally do police rather than military duties; that their pay has remained stationary while provisions and carriage have gradually risen in price, and that there will be found on inquiry many causes sufficiently accounting for the disaffection of the present soldiery. Thus the necessities of the civil administration of the State have almost denuded the regiments of their officers—a fatal mistake, if the cordial spirit of mutual reliance and esteem between officers and men is essential to discipline and confidence; and if a thorough supervision of the men's comforts and knowledge of their characters, and a candid representation of their wants and wishes, be thought instrumental towards engendering and promoting a spirit of content, affection, and respect. With the present skeleton staff of officers doing duty with each regiment, this is physically impossible: the few officers present on parade could not do all this important duty even if they would; but it is to be feared that the few regimental officers who have not obtained staff appointments, the 'Refuse', as a distinguished member of their own body has unjustly called them, get through their duties listlessly

and superficially, partly from a sense of the hopelessness of otherwise discharging it, partly from a spirit of indifference produced by contrasting what they consider their own ill luck with the good fortune of their contemporaries on staff employ. The Regiment is not looked upon as what it ought to be—a man's home. The first effort, the first wish of the cadet is, either by interest or study, to get away from regimental duty to the more agreeable labours of a comparatively independent charge. And the effect upon the character of the privates may easily be conceived ...

So with regard to the Native officer. He is a very different personage from what he was in the days of Clive. Then the cadet of some old family marched into the headquarters of the regiment about to be formed at the head of a hundred of his retainers. He became at once an officer. He was familiar with his European superior, the regimental duties were performed by him, he was constantly in the battlefield; so great was the trust reposed in him, so large the actual amount of duty he performed, that Munro thought one European officer sufficient for a company. Now, all this has changed. We have destroyed the class from which the Native officer was drawn. He is now a poor, old, decrepit creature, not rising from the ranks until he is scarcely fit for anything but superannuation. Frequently he owes his promotion to favouritism and the influence of his officer with whom he has ingratiated himself rather than to any aptitude or merit of his own. He is no longer the leader and superior of the common soldiery; there is no clannish feeling in his favour. He is taken from their ranks, he is of the same quality as themselves; and once raised to the grade of an officer, his promotion goes by seniority. There is no longer the old bond of union between the European and the Native officer. They are not drawn together by common dangers in the field; the one springs from the English gentry; the other is no longer his equal in birth, in age, in pay, in temperament, but is drawn from an altogether inferior class of society; and the consequence is that there exists another community of feeling or of interests ...

That we must henceforth continue to keep a far larger European force than hitherto in India for many years to come seems unquestionable. But though such regiments would, under a system of cantonments, be quartered with Native regiments, they would still be perfectly distinct from them. Various propositions have from time to time been made, with reference to the source whence new blood may be infused into our Indian ranks. Lord William Bentinck proposed Malays; Sir Charles Napier advocated Goorkas: a proposition has lately appeared to enlist Africans; another suggests the addition of European companies to every Native regiment. This last would, at any rate, seem inexpedient. The European and the Native may forego their prejudices in seasons of pressing, common danger, as happened between the 13th Queen's and the 35th B.L.I. during the siege of Jellalabad; but the latter brave regiment was spurned by the Bengal regiments for even such conduct, and there is little prospect of coalescence between the European and Native soldier. The former despises the latter as a 'nigger'; the latter regards the former as a beef-eating, outcast Pariah. They have no community language, thought, or habits; and the presence of the Europeans would afford no safeguard against the prevalence of sedition, the influence of punchayets, and the like, among the Native ranks. There is, however, another class admirably adapted for our purpose, a class whom we are bound to support, though it has hitherto been too much the custom to despise them—I speak of the East Indians. This rapidly increasing class is like the bat in the fable, between the birds and beasts; they are outcasts on either hand. They are miserably poor; they have contracted habits of early, improvident marriages, and produce families for whom they find it impossible to provide. Hence, we see plenty of emaciated specimens of humanity among them. But in all those instances in which good food and wholesome air have been allowed to operate, the East Indian frame becomes developed, and the individual is a stout, stalwart man. They speak English and one Native

language, often more, indifferently; they are, with respect to habits of life, rather assimilated to their Asiatic than the European side of origin; there is a substratum variety in their composition, on which would naturally rise a proper esprit de corps. They would harmonize with the Native soldiery. As it is, they compose the bands—the drummers, buglers, and fifers of our army. From their knowledge of Native habits and language, they would act as a constant police upon the Native sepoys, who could scarcely by any possibility carry on intrigue in the presence of such a detective; whilst the pride of British ancestry would ever render the East Indian loyal to the English interests, which they would identify with their own. The East India Company has been frequently urged to avail itself of this source for recruiting its army—hitherto without success. It is a fact that East Indians, unable to enter the Company's army, have sailed to England, and there enlisted in the Queen's forces. Any number required might be recruited at a short notice; and, while effectually serving ourselves, we should be doing bare justice to a race whose claim to our care we have been only too tardy in acknowledging.

[3rd issue—Ed.] The occupation of the country by a far greater number of British troops. That we must have many additional regiments from England quartered continually in India seems very certain. Whether England can spare a sufficient number seems problematical, looking to the vast territories she has to defend, and the increasing difficulty in finding recruits. Under these circumstances we must cast about to supply our wants by other means. One seems feasible, and well worthy of consideration; I allude to the plantation of military European colonies on our numerous healthy hills. What a power should we have in 5,000 British military colonies on the Neilgherries trained to arms ...

What I say is that we must bring under review every cause which seems likely to endanger our empire for the future; whether or not they shall be thought to be more or less connected or altogether unconnected with the recent

rebellion. On this point opinions may differ. Some may see in every one of the topics which I am about to bring forward, only so many reasons accounting for the late revolt: others may deny the relation of cause and effect between them and that event. Whichever view be right, it is nevertheless prudent, if not imperative on us, to investigate them all.

The first is the general tone of feeling that the people of India entertained towards us. The most prejudiced, narrow-minded, short-sighted civilian of the old school, would scarcely venture at the present day to assert that our rule is *loved* by the Natives, or that they look to us with feelings of affection.

Let the reader refer back to the prophetic expressions, the repeated warnings, the statesmanlike convictions of Sir Charles Metcalfe. Nothing indeed is more remarkable than the blindness of the general run of civilians to the actual feelings of the people. They are so puffed up with an overweening idea of their own excellence that they cannot believe the people disaffected under their superintendence; they are so wedded to the perfections of the Indian Government that they cannot conceive it distasteful to the people. They make no allowance for the existence among the Natives of those feelings which actuate themselves. They cannot believe that the Natives look with reverence, or affection, or respect to old institutions, old associations, old names, old dynasties. They look only to what they conclude their system ought to produce: they listen to the reports of their Sheristadars and Thasildars; the supple Bengalee is little likely to bring forward what shall prove humbling to 'master's' pride, or incur the loss of 'master's favour', they ignore the necessary consequences of such an administration of justice and police as obtains throughout India. They glance only at the superficial state of the country ...

I believe the following will be found to be something near the truth of the matter. There is indisputably a very large and influential population who hate us cordially. First

of all, in daring as in bitterness, I would place the Mohamedans, who pursue us with a double hatred, both as Kaffirs to be exterminated on account of our religion, and as the race which has toppled them from their places and superseded them in the empire of the East. Next are the Brahmins, who, without the same intense religious prejudices, or the same open audacity of purpose, have nevertheless not marked their ascendancy over the millions who pass away from their hands without a deep animosity; nor is the effect of their revenge less formidable, because it exhibits itself in wily intrigue, in tempering with the soldiery, and underhand sedition, rather than in open violence. So again the high castes view us askance. Their importance is lost, they no longer fatten on the revenues of the country, or thrive by the oppression of the masses; a task, which so far as it is permitted at all, we have ourselves monopolized. The great Zemindars and other landholders, whose estates have passed from them, and such of their retainers as look back with regret to the feudal ancestral hall, nurse a bitter grudge against the English. The old landed aristocracy, as a body, are angry at us for having broken down the privileges which they misused. But there anything like hatred or jealousy stops. The great bulk of the people, the ryots and cultivators of the soil are better off under our government, than any of its predecessors. Our policy is all in their favour. We have released them, at least in the Presidency of Madras, from the thralldom of their lords, who governed them ruthlessly; we have done much to level the distinctions of caste, and to raise the Pariah to a higher social platform. We have striven to educate the lowest, rather than to keep knowledge locked up exclusively in the breasts of the fortunate few. Our intentions have been excellent; we have marred them in performance; and the discontent of the masses is not levelled at the Government as a Government, but at the constant interference with their agricultural operations, which our mistaken revenue practice has most unnecessarily introduced, the feebleness of the administration of justice which envelopes

the land in a cloud of litigation, and the corruption of the police, which leads to false charges and extortion on the one hand, while it is perfectly powerless to protect life and property from crimes of violence on the other. The natives have enough in all conscience to make them grumble, but their discontent is neither dangerous in its character, nor directed to the over-throw of the State. Were their condition at once bettered, as it very easily might be, by the introduction of those measures which have already been sanctioned as admitted essentials, they would speedily rise in prosperity, and become one of the happiest and most contented people in the world. I, for one, believe that the future has this in store for India, if our rule obtains; I believe that Madras, so assiduously declared to be 'benighted', is far in advance of any other part of India, in respect to that social change to which I have alluded. We have here three distinct classes, the ryot, the merchant, and the Government official. At present all are in a transition state. The Thasildar has enormous powers of working good or harm: when education has raised the character of this class, their influences of goodwill vastly predominate. By lowering our heavy demands on the agricultural class, and opening up communications for the purposes of traffic, we shall enrich the ryot and the merchant. In these three classes we have germs of our future landed gentry, our merchant princes, and our ruling class. We have latterly shocked the prejudices of all by our repeated instances of flagrant bad faith in our respective treaty breaches with the native sovereigns of India; we have rudely staggered their belief in our honesty, and done what in us lay to alarm and alienate all classes. It may seem paradoxical, and I confess, I feel it difficult how to reconcile my statement of belief in discontent on the part of the masses with the admission that our Government is an improvement upon any form which has preceded it. Perhaps the difficulty is created by forgetting that though our predecessors' administration may have been worse than our own, it does not follow that our own is good. It may still

be practically bad. This is but an illustration of Bentham's fallacy of *false consolation* by which the wretched condition of a people is complacently contrasted with one which is more wretched. It is not by what we have done, but by what we have left undone, that our claims to praise or blame must be decided. And it is in this direction that our errors lie. We have governed too much for ourselves, too little for the people. Till very lately our primary object has been to extract revenue out of them, and they groan under a host of comparatively petty evils, the sum of which is large indeed, and ample enough to engender discontent and disaffection...

The true principle of application of centralization would be to hold the subordinate Governments *ultimately* responsible; to sanction approved schemes of reform and public works; to leave the carrying out of these schemes to the local Governments; and to watch narrowly the way in which they had executed their duties. Then the subordinates would work under a due sense of their responsibility; they would take care that no crude projects were submitted, and that all the work undertaken was effectively done. As it is, the local Governments are freed, practically, from responsibility; for the moment a measure is sanctioned, their responsibility ends. It may be advisable to alter the form of Government in Madras and Bombay; to do away with the expensive pageant of a Governor and Council, and to substitute a Lieutenant-Governor, as in the North-West provinces and elsewhere. Not that this change would work any good, unless really capable and experienced men be chosen for the office of Lieutenant-Governor. We must then seek out such men as Thomason, or Metcalfe, if they are to be found; for I should no more dream of strengthening a naturally feeble Governor, by disembarrassing him of his two members of Council, than I should hope to cure a lame man by depriving him of his crutches.

The point of view in which this system of centralization affects the present subject of discussion is the impediment which it has proved to necessary substantial reforms. The

condition of the people is now comparatively well understood; the remedies are pretty unanimously agreed on; but nothing has been done, and nothing will be done, so long as the jealousy of the centralizing spirit is paramount; and thus the causes of discontent and disaffection at work among the people are permitted to operate and spread without check or cure. This consideration it is which has induced me to dwell upon centralization in the present disquisition. And here I would beg to repeat that I am very far from making a sweeping assertion that our Government in India is altogether bad. On the contrary, it has very much that is good in it; and in theory and intention it is an infinite improvement upon any that has preceded it. Especially during the past few years has an impulse been given, by pressure from without, to its development of measures, which, if only carried out in their integrity, judiciously and prudently, must ultimately render the condition of its subjects nearly all that can be desired. It is against the lets and hindrances to practical activity that I direct my censures; that spirit of jealous centralization which overrules the conclusions of local experience; that system of continual reference which ever encourages procrastination; that 'double' machinery, complex and antiquated, which may well be laid aside for an improved instrument, at once more simple and more efficient.

We have got our Government in India at last into the right grooves; it remains to remove all the obstacles to its more rapid progress, and to apply continuous force to ensure its perpetual motion. What these obstructions are it is easy to indicate. They are the impediments which everywhere exist to the decent administration of justice; a topic which embraces a wide sphere of fact and observation, and which it is not my intention to enter upon with any particularity now. The civil service has the exclusive possession of the bench in the Mofussil, to the exclusion of trained professional men. The absurdities and the monstrosities which this state of things calls forth daily over

the whole land, render life and property insecure, and prevent the influx of English skill and capital into the interior for the development of the resources of the country. That law *can* be administered in such a manner as to create confidence in the Natives is found by the recent petitions to Parliament from the Natives of all these presidencies, in which they record their unanimous satisfaction with the system of law and its administrations obtaining at the several capitals. The basis of the civil service has been what is called 'widened', by throwing open its entrance to competition. But the boon is rather one to the public of England than to the public of India, since no line of demarcation has been drawn between the revenue and judicial branches; no special training made essential for the former branch. It was here that the remedy was wanting; and yet things are left just as they were. It becomes a question now, whether the shortest, the surest, perhaps the only way of meeting an evil which has grown beyond all bounds, is not by at once placing professionally educated men upon the Mofussil bench. This seems to me to be real cause of the animosity lately displayed by the indigo planters and others in Bengal to the scheme of amalgamating the Courts, and creating a procedure whereby all men should stand equal in the eye of the law. It is not for the existence of any privilege or exemption itself so much that the British subjects in India contend, as for the protection of their life, liberty, and property, which they say would be imperilled by their being compelled to submit such tribunals as exist in the Mofussil, where the European judge is ignorant, and the Native judge is both ignorant and malicious. Certainly there is much truth in this; present events, wherein rebellion is headed by Native judicial officers, and the fanaticism and exterminating spirit, as *well* as the diabolical cruelty which we have witnessed, may well cause alarm at the thought even of the possibility of being tried by such men; and when we reflect on the ease with which false charges and false testimony are brought forward, and the inability of the

European appellate courts to grapple with falsehood which has passed current with the courts of original jurisdiction, we cannot but admit that there is much force in the statements and arguments of the Bengal planters and the inhabitants of Calcutta. The opposition which has been raised to what are called the Black Acts has had the effect, however, of tying up reform altogether. A peg whereon to hang an excuse for delay has been thus afforded, and advantage has been at once taken of it; whereas the true remedy consists not in handing over the country any longer to amateur judges, but in causing the law to be administered by stronger hands. This, I am aware, goes to the root of exclusive civilianism; and it is sure to meet with determined opposition; but the question really now has come to this: Can an exclusive service be any longer maintained with safety to our empire in India? Is it not necessary to avail ourselves of practical experience and skilled professional labour in order to secure such an administration of civil government as shall at any rate afford a reasonable prima facie probability that the Natives will be content with it, and that the English capitalist will no longer fear to risk his capital in the interior, where contracts cannot be enforced, except at an expense, and after a delay, which render it more prudent to refrain from mercantile operations than to embark in them. I am aware that the new 'Cotton Association' has a timid dislike of being thought to aim at any reform in India: but I am perfectly well assured that neither they nor anyone else can look to the development of this country's resources, until the administration of the law, including the organization of the police, is placed upon an entirely new footing ...

If we had a Government acting publicly instead of secretly; if there were room for fair investigation instead of mystification; if the Government were restrained by a sense of its responsibility, and if it were immediately responsible to Parliament for all its acts, these deeds of spoliation could never have been attempted. Neither would redress be

altogether hopeless, and its pursuit that mockery and delusion which it now is under the irresponsible despotism of the Double Government. But for the Double Government, let me ask, would it have been possible to stifle inquiry before the Parliamentary Committees in 1852? With a minister decently responsible to Parliament, and no India House influence on the back stairs, would not all the subjects of proposed inquiry have been thoroughly sifted? Would Lord John Russell ever have stood upon the 'finality' of that superficial investigation which took place, and have left untouched the most important subjects—the administration of justice, and the condition of the people? Why if those topics had been sifted, such a state of things would have been necessarily exposed as might perhaps have led to measures sufficient to have prevented the present rebellion. Look at the disclosures of the administration of justice in Southern India; look at the Torture Report; look at the Bengal Missionary Petition. They will give some notion of what might be expected to have come out, if these subjects had been opened. But after a hasty inquiry into some few out of the many topics laid down for search at starting, the Committees were suddenly closed, after the India House had polled its witnesses on the spot, and before the people of India could send their witnesses into the field. It was as though the sheriff should declare the polling booths at an election closed at twelve o'clock in the day instead of at the pre-appointed hour.

—(Norton, 1857: 4–6, 14, 22–25, 46, 47–49, 55–59, 182–86, 233-34, emphasis in original)

LETTER, *The Lahore Chronicle* (Supplement), 13 June 1857:

As a Briton, I have read with utter astonishment the Proclamation of the Honourable Lieutenant Governor whereby those who have murdered our women and children

are allowed to go to their homes unmolested, tears have rolled down my cheeks with shame and indignation, were it not better for white man in India to die fighting for his country, wife and children, than that cold-blooded murderers should 'go to their homes unmolested' ... At this rate the next proclamation will commence 'Noble sepoys of India, if you will be quiet for a little while we will all go to our ships and depart!!!' ... Why all this fear if our white forces are properly handled notwithstanding one small number, there is enough of us to hang every traitor in India.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 82, (1857), p. 379:

Colonel Wheler, the Commanding Officer, had been in the habit of circulating tracts, and addressing the men, both of his own and other native corps (but not within the lines), with the declared object of converting them to Christian religion. It is nowhere stated that any ill effect had ensued from his preaching; but assuredly neither the Colonel nor his officers possessed that ordinary respect from the men which we should have thought impossible to be wanting in the worst discipline corps.

CHARLES BALL, _History of the Indian Mutiny_, quoting Queen Victoria's proclamation, _London Gazette_, 25 September 1857:

'VICTORIA R.—We, taking into our most serious consideration the grievous mutiny and disturbances which have broken out in India, and putting our trust in Almighty God that He will graciously bless our efforts for the restoration of lawful authority in that country, have resolved, and do, by and with the advice of our privy council, hereby

command that a public day of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer, be observed throughout those parts of our united kingdom called England and Ireland, on Wednesday, the 7th day of October next, that so both we and our people may humble ourselves before Almighty God in order to obtain pardon of our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty for the restoration of tranquility; and we do strictly charge and command that the said day be reverently and devoutly observed by all our loving subjects in England and Ireland, as they tender the favour of Almighty God: and, for the better and more orderly solemnizing the same, we have given directions to the most reverend the archbishops and the right reverend the bishops of England and Ireland, to compose a form of prayer suitable to the occasion, to be used in all churches, chapels, and places of public worship, and to take care the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses.

'Given at our court at Balmoral, the 24th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1857, and in the 21st year of our reign.'

—(Queen Victoria's proclamation, quoted in Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 420-21)

The Englishman, 29 June 1857:

The mutinous disposition of the native regiments in India is a much more serious fact than the Government or the press of this country [England] are disposed to admit. Our position in India at this moment is one of considerable difficulty if not danger. The native troops are undoubtedly disaffected towards the government, and disaffection is contagious ... But what is the origin of all these disturbances, is asked on every side? We do not believe that the cartridge question is the sole cause of complaint. It is only one item

among many, but the one which, by arousing religious prejudices, produces that unanimity necessary to resistance. And the sepoys have just cause of complaint against the government. They are now subjected to longer marches, to more extended foreign service, and by consequence to greater expense ... Add to this their dread of having again to enter Afghanistan (a point much mooted of late in India, and a destination of which the sepoy has a childish fear) ... his disaffection is not a mere whim of the moment which a little more tact on the part of the authorities may have overcome. Undoubtedly, great carelessness and greater indifference to the peculiar prejudices of the race has attended this cartridge question, and the difficulty of the dilemma in which the authorities now find themselves, is to act with firmness, and to restore tranquility without bloodshed ... The necessary measures to be adopted now would seem to be an immediate and secret inquiry on the part of the government into the causes of complaint, to remove such as are inconsistent with the principles of fair dealing with the troops, and to provide for any difficulties that may occur, by despatching to India, a large reinforcement of British troops. It is useless to deny the fact that our vast annexations of late years require a proportionate increase of British troops to maintain our ascendancy against all emergencies.

CHARLES BALL, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-general of India in Council, 24 March 1858:

The telegram from Calcutta, dated the 22nd ult., which arrived this morning, conveys intelligence of the concentration of the force under the commander-in-chief, and of that under Jung Bahadoor, upon Lucknow; and we trust we may indulge the expectation that, ere this, that city has been

evacuated by the rebels, and that no considerable corps remains united against us in the field.

2. If this happy result should have been attained, it will be very satisfactory to us to learn that you have deemed yourself sufficiently strong to be enabled to act towards the people with the generosity as well as the justice which are congenial to the British character.

3. Crimes have been committed against us which it would be a crime to forgive, and some large exceptions there must be, of the persons guilty of such crimes, from any act of amnesty which could be granted; but it must be as impossible as it would be abhorrent from our feelings to inflict the extreme penalty which the law might strictly award upon all who have swerved from their allegiance.

4. To us it appears that, whenever open resistance shall have caused, it would be prudent, in awarding punishment, rather to follow the practice which prevails after the conquest of a country which has defended itself to the last by desperate war, than that which may perhaps be lawfully adopted after the suppression of mutiny and rebellion—such acts always being exempted from forgiveness or mitigation of punishment as have exceeded the license of legitimate hostilities.

5. While we may be unable to forget the insanity which, during the last ten months, has pervaded the army and a large portion of the people, we should at the same time remember the previous fidelity of a hundred years, and so conduct ourselves towards those who have erred as to remove their delusions and their fears, and re-establish, if we can, that confidence which was so long the foundation of our power.

6. It would be desirable that in every case the disarming of a district, either by the seizure of arms or by their surrender, should precede the application to it of any amnesty; but there may be circumstances which would render expedient a different course of proceeding. Upon these exceptional cases you and the officers acting under your orders must decide.

7. The disarming of a district having been effected, with exceptions under your license in favour of native gentlemen whose feelings of honour would be affected by being deprived of the privilege of wearing arms, and of any other persons in whom you may confide, we think the possession of arms should be punished in every case by a severe penalty; but unless the possession of arms should be combined with other acts leading to the conclusion that they were retained for the perpetration of crimes, that penalty should not be death. Of course the possession of arms by Englishmen must always remain lawful.

8. Death has of late been too common a punishment. It loses whatever terror it might otherwise have when so indiscriminately applied; but, in fact, in India there is not commonly a fear of death, although there ever must be a fear of pain.

9. In every amnestied district the ordinary administration of the law should, as soon as possible, be restored.

10. In carrying these views into execution, you may meet with obstructions from those who, maddened by the scenes they have witnessed, may desire to substitute their own policy for that of the government; but persevere firmly in doing what you may think right; make those who would counteract you feel that you are resolved to rule, and that you will be served by none who will not obey.

11. Acting in this spirit, you may rely upon our unqualified support.

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 480-81)

CHARLES BALL, *History of the Indian Mutiny*:

Foreign Department, Allahabad, Nov. 1.

Her majesty the Queen having declared that it is her gracious pleasure to take upon herself the government of the British territories in India, the viceroy and governor-

general hereby notifies that from this day all acts of the government of India will be done in the name of the Queen alone.

From this day, all men of every race and class, who under the administration of the Hon. East India Company, have joined to uphold the honour and power of England, will be servants of the Queen alone.

The governor-general summons them, one and all, each in his degree, and according to his opportunity, and with his whole heart and strength, to aid in fulfilling the gracious will and pleasure of the Queen, as set forth in her royal proclamation.

From the many millions of her majesty's native subjects in India, the governor-general will now, and at all times, exact a loyal obedience to the call which, in words full of benevolence and mercy, their sovereign has made upon their allegiance and faithfulness.

By order of the right honourable the governor-general of India.

G.F. Edmonstone,
Secretary to the government of India,
with the governor-general.

—(Ball, 1858-59, Vol. 2: 519)

LETTER, *The Englishman*, 11 June 1857:

Now is the time for the Government to assert its rights. As the conquerors of a country, let no sentimentalism interfere and pamper men who attribute all concession to fear. This rise has not originated with the Sepoys; doubtless the cowardly prating, cunning Bengalee and Oriah Brahmins have put up men, whom they hate and fear, in order to try and creep, under their defence into the lucrative posts should the British Government in India be overthrown ... The natives of India are not yet sufficiently civilized, for the liberty which they have been allowed to enjoy.

Can people who delight in the Churruck Poojah, and the worship of Juggarnauth with its obscene and beastly rites, understand the high toned feelings shown by a kind and paternal Government? Surely not! They may pretend to do so, but it is all pretence ... As to the mutineers, the only means of deterring their brethren is to slay, without mercy, all who be now caught, to offer rewards for their apprehension living or dead, to confiscate the lands owned by any of them, and that henceforward every man who refuses to obey orders on whatever subject they may be given, be then and there led out and shot.

UNTITLED, *The Times*, 8 June 1857, p. 8:

It would be perhaps too much to say that we feel apprehension at the continued prevalence of the mutinous spirit in the Bengal Army ... If the telegraphic news which we publish elsewhere is to be trusted, the most dangerous designs have been formed among its native officers, no doubt with the sympathy of the entire regiment ... The stability of British power must not even be suspected in India ... Awe, respect and confidence, if not love, have always been freely rendered to the imposing fabric of British power ... The excesses of Baraackpore and Meerut demand prompt repression and vigilant precaution, lest they should again occur ...

In the old times, when the sepoy had no knowledge and no ambition, there was pretty nearly always something for him to do. An enemy was always on our frontier or on the frontier of one of our allies ... But now we have conquered all enemies within and without. There is no activity, no excitement, nothing beyond the monotonous discharge of routine duties ...

So far there is no great grievance to be remedied, and no immediate danger to be apprehended. But this very fact

indicates a kind of permanence in the discontent which evidently prevails ...

It seems beyond a doubt that a large native army, very much under-officered, and with nothing stirring to do, must be subjected to these fever fits of fanaticism ... It may be that this ill-feeling is the last stand made by the Hindoo mind against the growing influence of European culture. It is not impossible that at a time when widows are marrying and men of all castes are sitting together in a railway carriage the last effects of bigotry should be made.

SURENDRA NATH SEN, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, quoting Lady Canning to Queen Victoria, 9 January 1858:

There is not a particle of credible evidence of the poor women having been ill-used anywhere ... and the dreadful mutilation and insults perpetrated upon dead bodies have given rise to the most dreadful stories.

—(Lady Canning, quoted in Sen, 1957: 26)

LETTER, *The Lahore Chronicle*, 27 June 1857:

There was a suggestion thrown out by a correspondent in your late issue to embody some two corps of Anglo-Indians. I think the Government will find the plan capital—the aim and object of the present mutineers is the destruction, by whatever means, of all the European and Christians generally—common interest, therefore, is a sufficient guarantee to ensure zeal and devotion of the Anglo-Indians to the British Government—their antecedents favour the opinion.

EDWARD THOMPSON, *The Other Side of the Medal*:

[V.D.] Savarkar's *History* of the Mutiny is proscribed. It is best that it should be. But if we wish to have a veil drawn over certain aspects of that war, we must give the Indian case recognition in our own histories. As things stand, we have given Indians a reputation for bloodthirstiness and untrustworthiness which they are very far from deserving ...

Our misrepresentation of Indian history and character is one of the things that have so alienated the educated classes of India that even their moderate elements have refused to help the Reforms ...

It comes down to this, that men and women everywhere want their self-respect given back to them. Make them free again, and enable them to look at us and everyone in the eyes, and they will behave like free people and cease to lie. There is long overdue a new orientation in the histories of India, we must no longer stress the Black Hole of Calcutta, and ignore the seventy suffocated Moplah prisoners of our railway-vans; we must no longer stress Cawnpore, and ignore Benares and Delhi and Allahabad and Renaud's march on Cawnpore. If there was one phrase more than another in Romesh Dutt's dignified appeal to us which should win our respectful sympathy it was his request that the darker incidents of the Mutiny (or such as we choose shall be told) should be expunged from books, 'at least as recorded in school books meant for boys'. Why should Indian boys be compelled to read about the fiendish work at the well, when there is not a word said about Neill's fiendish work on the way to the well? ...

Lastly, let us publish no more Mutiny letters when we know that similar documents from the Indian side if published would be immediately proscribed as fomenting racial hatred ...

I would urge my fellow-Christians to take this matter to heart, and to see to it that among them there is a change of attitude towards India. I will tell them what is never told

them in missionary conferences or from missionary platforms, that the great obstacle to the outward acceptance of Christianity by educated Indians is not caste, not vaguely 'nationalism', not the Brahmin's pride, but just this—profound conviction that the churches as a whole are more earnest for 'edification' than for truth, that to them an experience of spiritual uplifting is more than the righting of a wrong ...

But the last word seems to me this. Seventy years ago our two races were mad, with an awful homicidal insanity. We cannot afford to perpetuate their feud, not to carry their deeds, which were not ours. That we should probably have shared in them, had we lived when their madness could have drawn us in also, is nothing to the point; it is true of ourselves and of every evil action ever done, the crucifixion of Jesus or the burning of Joan. We can at least refuse to ratify those deeds, or to misrepresent them to flatter our own national esteem. This is a world of fallible men and women, who had no power of choosing their race or land of birth; all we can choose is whether our attitude shall be generous and courageous, or ignoble and cowardly. We who are British can sweep our minds clear of all the poison and untruth our books have placed there, and we can create an atmosphere in which a new beginning of thought is possible ... And this new attitude, I believe, is the atonement that Indians are seeking.

—(Thompson, 1989 [1925]: 69-70, 74-75)

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 82 (1857), pp. 596–98:

A gentleman has addressed a letter to the *Spectator*, advocating the exhibition, in perpetuity, of the monster Nana Sahib (if we catch him), as a human specimen of a Bengal tiger, in the Tower [of London] or elsewhere. I should especially reprobate such a proceeding. After passing

a certain line a human being has put himself out of the pale of human pardon or mercy. We have no right to keep him alive, and we have, at the same time, no right to put him to an instant's useless pain. No ends of justice can be served thereby—no end can be served but the satisfaction accruing to others from his pain. Such a perpetual exhibition would probably be a torture more refined than any physical torture. If so, we should only be imitating the behaviour of the Indian mutineers in inflicting it ...

'The Mutiny in India', *The Illustrated London News*, 4 July 1857, p. 1:

We have the strongest reasons to suspect that Russian emissaries are, and have long been, at work, not only at the outposts and frontiers of our Indian Empire, but in the very heart of the country, in exciting dissatisfaction against British rule, and in stirring up the native population against us .... [T]hose who know Russia best, and India most, do not treat this supposition with scorn; but, on the contrary, find too many reasons for believing that every act of hostility against us ... is more or less connected with Russian intrigues and Russian money.

News item in the *Illustrated London News*, 22 August 1857, p. 1:

The public begin to perceive that not two or three, but a thousand causes have been at work, and that if we are to retain India, a radical reform, not only of our military and administrative systems, must be introduced, but our social and political relations with the Indian tribes, peoples, races, and nations, must undergo a change large and thorough enough to merit the name of a Revolution ...

Another mistake, which has excited the disapproval of calm and humane men such as Colonel Hodgson, was the abolition, from misjudging philanthropy, of flogging in the native army, by which discipline has relaxed, and the European officer rendered powerless to inflict punishment ... [C]orporal punishment could not be abolished without the greatest detriment to the service.

'The Punjab in 1857', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 89 (1861), p. 501:

The Sepoy's War of 1857 is a fine subject for the historians. But its treatment is far from easy. There are abundant materials of the best kind; incidents, numerous and exciting—records of doing and of suffering, almost unparalleled in their magnitude; varied characters of every shade—from the brightest chivalry to the darkest villainy; and copious food for philosophical investigation into the motives of human action, national and individual—all these are there to render the subject an attractive one to the workman and to beguile him with a flattering promise of success.

'The Mind of the Mutiny and its Present Attitude', *The Economist*, 19 September 1857, reprinted in *Living Age*, 55, 703 (14 November 1857), pp. 437–39:

The assured confidence with which all Englishmen look to the result of our present Indian calamities only renders the suspense more painful and exciting in which we await the first fruits of our remedial measures. In the meantime we scan with intense eagerness every new feature of this strange and terrible revolt, to see if we can decipher the sudden meaning it bears, and reach the real state of intellect and feeling in the native army of Bengal from which it has

proceeded. The chequered news of the last mail throws many gleams of light upon the state of mind of the mutineers...

The main feature of these fresh disturbances, as concerns the character of the mutiny, is the flickering resolve, the long-wavering mind of the mutineers, who, nevertheless, when once in revolt, show that they abandon themselves utterly and frantically to the cruel motives, without any evidence of the heat, of passion ...

All attempt at self-government or obedience is drowned in the tumultuous rush of the old Hindoo craft and ferocity to the surface of their life. We must not forget that there is not an Anglo-Indian now in this country who has not till now regarded these Bengal Sepoys as a mild and almost refined class of men, in short, as nature's gentlemen. Yet the grain of the real character, subdued, not by voluntary self-discipline, but by involuntary respect for English rule, comes out broadly and strongly so soon as the shadow of that rule is removed. Like a long-bent spring suffered to recoil, it springs with accumulated violence against the hand that has so long kept it under. Involuntary awe and submission are ever transient in their influence, and liable to strong reaction. Only free and voluntary self-discipline goes to the very roots of character and this course we could not give to the Hindoo ... The insight given into the character of the mutineers by the fuller news from this portion of the revolted districts is painful enough. We see the great predominance of ferocious motives over ferocious instincts which make so striking a contrast between the Oriental and the European. English soldiers have shown themselves ferocious and passionate and licentious enough, when they have had their unbridled way, as in the storming of many a town. But theirs is the ferocity of a savage beast. The Sepoy seems to give a complete loose to his ferocious wishes without being impelled to passionate or fiery action.

JOHN KAYE, *History of the Sepoy War in India*:

But when these [Brahmin] boys grew up in time to be heads of families, rejoicing in what they called their freedom from prejudice, laughing to scorn their ancestral faith as a bundle of old wives' tales ... it was clear that a very serious peril was beginning to threaten the ascendancy of the Priesthood [Kaye means Brahmins—Ed.]. They saw that a reformation of this kind once commenced would work its way through time through all the strata of society. They saw that, as new provinces were one after another brought under British rule, the new light must diffuse itself more and more, until there could scarcely be a place for Hindooism to lurk unmolested...

Every monstrous lie exploded, every abominable practice suppressed, was a blow struck at the Priesthood ... The murder of women on the funeral-pile, the murder of little children in the Zenana, the murder of the sick and the aged on the banks of the river, the murder of human victims, reared and fattened for sacrifice, were all religious institutions from which the Priesthood derived either profit, power, or both ... Now all these cruel rites had been suppressed, and, what was still worse in the eyes of the Brahmins, the foul superstitions which nurtured them were fast disappearing from the land ... The Law might do much, but Education would assuredly do much more to sweep away all these time-honoured superstitions. Education, pure and simple in its secularity, was quite enough in itself to hew down this dense jungle of Hindooism; but when it was seen that the functions of the English schoolmaster and of the Christian priest were often united in the same person, and that high officers of the State were present at examinations conducted by chaplains or missionaries, a fear arose lest even secular education might be the mask of proselytism, and so the Brahmins began to alarm the minds of the elder members of the Hindoo community ...

Every year were there manifestations of a continually increasing desire [on the part of the English] to emancipate

the natives of India from the gross superstitions which enchained them ... And in no man was there less regard for time-honoured abominations and venerable absurdities—in no man did the zeal of iconoclasm work more mightily than in Lord Dalhousie ... And as he desired for the good of the people to extend the territorial rule of Great Britain, so he was eager also to extend her moral rule and to make those people subject to the powers of light rather than of darkness, and so he strove mightily to extend among them the blessings of European civilisation, and the Priesthood stood aghast at the sight of the new things, moral and material, by which they were threatened ...

Even the fastnesses of the female apartments were not secure against the intrusion of the new learning and new philosophy of the West ...

The inroads and encroachments of physical science were equally distasteful and disquieting. A privileged race of men, who had been held in veneration as the depositories of all knowledge, were suddenly shown to be as feeble and impotent as babes and sucklings ... There were no means of explaining away the railway cars which travelled, without horses or bullocks, at the rate of thirty miles an hour, or the electric wires, which in a few minutes carried a message across the breadth of a whole province.

—(Kaye, 1875, Vol.1: 183–88)

A. Berriedale Keith (ed.), *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*:

Proclamation by Queen Victoria to the Princes, Chiefs, and the People of India, 1 November 1858:

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the

suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but, in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the first day of January next.

—(Keith, 1922, Vol.1: 382–86)

The Times, 10 June 1857:

India ... has been more the prey of conquerors, and that to a much more recent date; it has surrendered more easily and totally to foreign masters ... The revolutions of India have not been the work of a day; rebellion has never spread like wildfire across the Peninsula ...

The European officers ought as much as possible to be present with them, to occupy their minds, to engross their attention, and engage their affection. In the dangerous tranquility and tediousness of peace, the officers, far from seizing the opportunity for protracted absences and frivolous or profligate amusement, ought to give double care to enforce discipline, to keep up habits of activity, to inspire respect for authority, and sustain, themselves, that military spirit which actual war will keep up of itself. We all know what young British officers can be in their own country; we can imagine what they may become in an enervating climate, without anxious occupation, and with many opportunities of mischief; we know from sufficient sources what the Hindoos are themselves ... If a master neglects his school it is sure to fall into disorganization; if the head of a mercantile business becomes slack in his personal superintendence it soon goes to wrack and ruin ... In the East indolence is almost a necessity of the climate, vice more precocious than here, and decay more rapid. So we cannot doubt that the absence or carelessness of officers in regiments, not too well officered to begin with, will inevitably tell very quickly in the insubordination of the simple native soldiers. This, in our humble opinion, is the real danger ...

There never was a people so easily governed. We should not have acquired the obedience, the confidence, and even the affection of 170,000,000 people, had they not possessed a wonderful pliancy of temper, and had we not also had within ourselves some natural gifts of command ... We

ought to have more men in India ... measures should be taken to keep the European officers of the native army fully up to their duty and their work. The very nature of the delusion alleged in this instance convicts these officers of neglect. They cannot have had proper communication with their men, they cannot have won the confidence of their men, or gained access to their understandings, if the latter have generally imbibed so ridiculous an idea as that England was destroying their religion by means of greased cartridges...

Let the Company be wisely consistent; let it extend the penalty to all who deserve it. Let it put all the European officers on half-pay, seeing that their neglect is the chief cause of their misfortunes.

Ernest Jones, quoted in James Bryne, 'British Opinion and the Indian Revolt':

A policy of justice and conciliation might have long postponed the final rising of the men of Hindostan ... You working men of England will be called on to bleed and pay for the maintenance of one of the most iniquitous usurpations that ever disgraced the annals of humanity. Englishmen! The Hindus are now fighting for all most sacred to men ...

The revolt turns out to be ... not a military mutiny but a national insurrection ... This is a war with a people and one embracing greater numbers than any we have ever yet had ... in India ...

[The 'revolt' was] one of the most just, noble and necessary ever attempted in the history of the world ... The wonder is not that one hundred and seventy million people should now rise in part—the wonder is that they should ever have submitted at all. They would not, had they not been betrayed by their own princes, who sold each other to the alien ...

If we want to reconquer India, we must do so with the olive, as much as with the sword. The people remember the

past and, as far as we are concerned, dread the future. They remember that we tore them from possession of their land; they remember that a nation of free-holders had the soil confiscated and were forced to rent from us what had been theirs ... They remember that their lands were taxed, beyond the power of payment; that then they were forced to mortgage their implements of husbandry; again to dispose of their seed corn, and thus made beggars, to pay the dues exacted by the British Government. They remember that then, when agriculture became impossible, they sought to relinquish their farms, because they were unable to pay taxes for the land they never tilled. When unable to borrow the amount from friends, they remember they were tortured—how they were hung by the soles of their feet in burning heat of day; or by the hair of the head with stones attached to their legs; how wedges of sharp wood were forced up their nails—how father and son were tied together and lashed at the same time, that the sufferings of the one might aggravate the pain of the other; how the women were flogged—how scorpions were tied to the breasts of the latter, and red chilly forced into their eyes. They remember these things as proved in the Madras Petition in the Government Commissioners' reports and in the British House of Lords and Commons. They remember how a police was let loose upon them, so badly paid, that they had to support themselves by robbery; they, the guardians of law forced to be thieves—and that this system was connived at ... by the British Government ...

—(Ernest Jones, quoted in James Bryne, 1986: 302–05)

LORD SHAFTESBURY to Martin Tupper, 10 November 1857, quoted in James Bryne, 'British Opinion and the Indian Revolt':

The truth is that 'vengeance' in scripture is the perfect and most sublime development of justice ... The sepoys are

witnesses against themselves—no evidence is required to establish their guilt. Human authority is sufficient for their case; and it is in order that constituted authority and not private lynch law may rule all proceedings. It is, I say, for this we call on the Government to be stern, decided and vigorous in punishment.

—(Lord Shaftesbury quoted in Bryne, 1986: 296)

ANONYMOUS, ***England's Great Mission in India*:**

Facts are not wanting, from the state of things as they have existed ever since the British came to India, to the time of the great rebellion of the Indian Army in 1857, which proclaim most unmistakably that the Government has been ashamed of its religion in relation to the inhabitants of this empire ...

It has all along been the firm belief of godly men that the hand of God set up the British rule in India for His own wise and gracious purposes, and these purposes of God have been made manifest to earnest and pious men ...

The manifest will of God, as declared by Himself is, 'that all men should be saved' ... In order to make this practicable in India, Almighty God ... opened a way for the British nation, and gradually, little by little, gave them dominion and power over the length and breadth of this extensive empire, in a way, and with a stability, that never was possessed by any other king or potentate before. Alas, the rulers of the land, forgetful of their great mission to India, entirely hid the glory of God from the knowledge of the inhabitants, and only sought honour and greatness for themselves ...

Thus it is clear that the Christian Government whom God had so highly honoured in India did not in return seek the honour and glory of God, they sought little or no trust in his Almighty power, they sought for safety and stability

under the policy of conciliating the Indian Army by taking part in all their shameful practices, and without reserve—nay, under the highest sanction—mingling themselves with the vices and idolatry of the heathen. Under the groundless apprehension that as their vast possessions in India were guarded by the Native Army, composed entirely of high caste Hindoos and Mohammedans, it would be offensive to them to be brought to a clear knowledge of the Christian religion, or to see any particular manifestation of the claims of that religion exhibited in the lives and conduct of the rulers of the land ...

The result of this policy of Government, as might have been expected, was to keep the people grossly ignorant of the nature and requirements of the Christian religion ...

Had the Bible been permitted to be preached extensively in all parts of the British possessions, and its principles carefully explained to the native army at large, with the clear understanding that its precepts, unlike the Mahommedan religion, did not authorize the employment of any coercive measures to make proselytes;—had the Government authorized, nay, introduced text-books containing in concise and clear terms all the fundamental doctrines and gracious purposes as revealed to mankind by God, and caused these books to become standards for all Government schools and colleges, it is clear that all classes of people in India would have been so far enlightened in regard to Christian religion, as to know how to avoid being deceived by the misrepresentations of the Mahommedans that the British nation wished to take away the caste of the Hindoos by force ...

God, in His glorious and most wonderful Providence, has restored this land ... and had placed the Government and authority under the direct control of His highly-favoured and most blessed servant, Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. Seeing that it is the good will and pleasure of Almighty God that India should still continue under the dominion and guidance of Great Britain, it is clearly her

duty to strive to fulfil God's will by every right and practicable means possible.

That the Government of the Hon'ble East India Company signally failed in, or rather ignored, this their duty, has been abundantly proved. Their manifest plea—the fear of offending their native army—how strangely realized ...

The obvious course for the Government, to which attention is here earnestly invited, is—

1st—to glorify God's name in the face of this their vast possessions, by a consistent and godly life among their European servants holding authority in the administration of the country, whose selection should be scrupulously guided by the proof of a well-grounded belief in the Christian religion ...

2nd—to first seek the kingdom of God for India before all other considerations whatever. This can only be done when the leading men of Government have the fear of God in their hearts ...

3rd—to feed the lambs of Christ ...

Here in India, the British Government is the sole possessor of all lands, and as the nations are heathen, it is not the people but the Government who is called upon to consecrate, if not a tithe, certainly a fraction of all their possessions for the purpose of carrying out the command ...

It is, therefore, for the rulers of the land and the Christian nation connected with India, to devise plans by which this may be remedied, and more especially to remove as far as possible the feeling of contempt for Christianity which so universally prevails in the minds of natives in all parts of India ...

Another mode of working for God in which the Government should engage would be the establishing of Christian villages (if Government would purchase them as opportunity occurred) at and near large stations. This would be very desirable, as enabling the poor and homeless converts to obtain a living by working in them on favourable terms ... Such villages would need to be placed under the

control and management of well-tried, God-fearing men ...

Conscientious and recognized Christian rulers, expressly selected and sent out in greater numbers to countervail the influence of 'ungodly Christian' men, would at once change the aspect of the administration, and by their consistent and faithful acts, cause all discontent, apprehension, and want of faith in the Government to disappear ...

Another royal proclamation would appear to be absolutely necessary, which, while upholding and confirming the previous one of 1858,[3] should concisely but clearly define the nature and purpose of the Christian religion; and, finally, it should declare that the wide-spread preaching of the Bible is the express command of God, which the Christian nation is bound to do, and is doing, all throughout the world, and now especially in India ...

The Government represents a father of the family, who, if he favours one member more than the rest, that member becomes peculiarly an object of attention by all ... Even so the Government, being essentially a Christian Government, is required to magnify and exalt the religion it professes to belong to, especially in a land like India, where people, from their own stand-point of view, are always alive to discern such matters; and when they see a godless ruler, whom educated Indians and others taking to be a type of the Christian religion, carefully watch and observe his private and public life ... they are led to despise not only the religion which he is believed to profess, but also feel contempt for a nation which produces such irreligious and 'ungodly Christians' ...

—(Anonymous, 1879: 3, 7-8, 17–19, 23, 25–27, 29-30, 33–35)

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[3]The reference is to Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1 November 1858 (see pp. 205-06).

ANONYMOUS, From *Proceedings on the Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah*:

Proceedings of an European Military Commission assembled at Delhi, on the 27th day of January 1858, by order of Major-General Penny, C.B., Commanding the Division, pursuant to instructions from Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, for the trial of such Prisoners as may be duly brought before it.

President
Lieutenant-Colonel Dawes, Artillery

Members
Major Palmer, H.M.'s 60th Regiment
Major Redmond, H.M.'s 61st Regiment
Major Sawyers, H.M.'s 6th Carabineers
Captain Rothney, 4th Seikh Infantry

Interpreter
Mr James Murphy

Prosecutor for Government
Major F.J. Harriott, Deputy Judge Advocate General

First Day's Proceedings

The Court assembled in the Special Hall of Audience in the Palace at Delhi, at 11 o'clock, on the morning of 27th of January 1858.

The President, Members, Interpreter, and Deputy Judge Advocate General are all present.

The Prisoner, Muhammad Bahadur Shah, Ex-King of Delhi, is brought into Court.

The Orders convening and forming the Court, and appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Dawes, Artillery, President, are produced and read.

The names of the Officers appointed to serve on the Court are read in the hearing of the Prisoner.

Invitation of Challenge

Question by Court: Prisoner, do you object to being tried by the President, or any of the Officers appointed to sit on this Military Commission?

Answer: No.

The President, Members, Interpreter, and Deputy Judge Advocate General are duly sworn.

All witnesses are directed to withdraw.

The Charges are read and entered as follows:

Charges

1st—For that he, being a Pensioner of the British Government in India, did, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and 1st of October 1857, encourage, aid and abet, Muhammad Bakht Khan, Subadar of the Regiment of Artillery, and diverse others, Native Commissioned Officers and Soldiers unknown, of the East India Company's Army, in the crimes of Mutiny and Rebellion against the State.

2nd—For having at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and 1st of October 1857, encouraged, aided and abetted Mirza Moghal, his own son, a subject of the British Government in India, and others unknown, inhabitants of Delhi, and of the North-West Provinces of India, also subjects of the said British Government, to rebel and wage war against the State.

3rd—For that he, being a subject of the British Government in India, and not regarding the duty of his allegiance, did, at Delhi, on the 11th of May 1857, or thereabouts, as a false traitor against the State, proclaim and declare himself the reigning King and Sovereign of India, and did then and there traitorously seize and take unlawful possession of the City of Delhi, and did moreover, at various times between the 10th of May and 1st of October 1857, as such false traitor aforesaid, treasonably conspire, consult, and agree

with Mirza Moghal, his own son, and with Muhammad Bakht Khan, Subadar of the Regiment of Artillery, and diverse other false traitors unknown, to raise levy and make insurrection, rebellion, and war, against the State, and further to fulfil and perfect his treasonable design of overthrowing and destroying the British Government in India, did assemble armed forces at Delhi, and send them forth to fight and wage war against the said British Government.

4th—For that he, at Delhi, on the 16th of May 1857, or thereabouts, did, within the precincts of the Palace at Delhi, feloniously cause, and become accessory to the murder of 49 persons, chiefly women and children of European and mixed European descent; and did moreover, between the 10th of May and 1st of October 1857, encourage and abet diverse Soldiers and others in murdering European Officers, and other English subjects, including women and children, both by giving and promising such murderers service, advancement, and distinctions; and further, that he issued orders to different Native Rulers having local authority in India, to slay and murder Christians and English people, whenever and wherever found on their Territories; the whole or any part of such conduct being an heinous offence under Act XVI of 1857, of the Legislative Council in India.

Fred J. Harriott, Major,
Deputy Judge Advocate General,
& Government Prosecutor

Delhi
January 1858

Question: Muhammad Bahadur Shah, are you 'guilty' or 'not guilty' of the charges preferred against you?

Answer: Not Guilty ...

Captain Forrest, Assistant Commissary of Ordnance, examined by Judge Advocate:

Question: Were you in Delhi on the 11th of last May?

Answer: I was.

Question: Did you on that occasion see any of the mutinous soldiery from Meerut?

Answer: I did. I first saw them, viz., some Cavalry in front (nearly a Regiment), followed by the 11th and 20th Regiments of Native Infantry crossing the Bridge on the road from Meerut. They were coming up in military formation, I would say in sub-divisions of companies with fixed bayonets and sloped arms, at about 9 o'clock. I did not see any of them previous to this; but I was informed that a small portion of the Cavalry had arrived on the Delhi side of the Bridge much earlier, viz., about 7 o'clock. I was in the Magazine at the time I saw the troops passing over the Bridge, having gone there a short time before in consequence of a communication which Sir Theophilus Metcalfe made to me, to the effect that the Mutineers were expected in from Meerut and he wished me to get two guns out of the Magazine, so as to place them in position to sweep the Bridge and prevent the Mutineers from crossing; but there were no cartridges to draw out the guns, neither were there any Artillerymen to man them, so Lieutenant Willoughby concurred with me in thinking the best plan would be to close the Magazine gates, and defend the place as long as we could; and we thought that if we could hold the Magazine till the evening, the European Troops would be certain to arrive at Meerut and relieve us. Between the hours of 9 and 10, a Subadar of the 38th Native Infantry, who was Commanding the Magazine Guard outside, informed me through an aperture, that the King of Delhi had sent a guard to take possession of the Magazine, and to bring all the Europeans there up to his palace, and that if they did not consent to this, none of them were to be allowed to leave the Magazine. I did not see the guard at this time but I saw the man who had bought this message.

He was a well-dressed Mussulman. We told the Subadar of the guard that he was to pay no attention to any orders he might receive from anyone ... Shortly after the above, a Native Officer in the King's service arrived with a strong guard of the King's own soldiers in the uniform, and told the above-mentioned Subadar and the non-Commissioned Officer that he was sent down by the King to relieve them of duty. The same orders were given to the Subadar by myself; to pay no attention to such authority. At this time the Native Officer who had come down with a strong Detachment of the King's Soldier placed guards of about 12 men under a non-Commissioned Officer over each gate of the Magazine. These men took up their posts in regular military style, posted the arms, received their orders and behaved altogether like regular soldiers. They were all in the full uniform of the King. This was sometime between 10 and 11 in the morning about an hour after which the door-keeper on the outside of the gate called out that he wished to speak either to Lieutenant Willoughby or myself. We both approached the gate together, when the man and sentry at the gate both informed us that the King of Delhi had sent people to carry away the whole of the Government stores then on the outside of the gate, and that they were unable to prevent them. To this neither Lieutenant Willoughby or myself gave any answer; but on looking through the gate we could distinctly see the stores being removed. The men who were employed in the work were common labourers, superintended and controlled by a guard of the King's soldiers in their own regular uniform. Shortly after this, the Subadar of our guard again expressed a wish to see either Lieutenant Willoughby or myself; we accordingly went to him. He told us that a messenger had come from the King to say that if we didn't immediately open the gates, he would have scaling ladders sent down to scale the walls, and these ladders shortly afterwards arrived, and were placed against the south-eastern turret or corner of the Magazine. The Native Establishments of the Magazine

observing this immediately ascended by a sloped shed on the inside of the wall, gained the ladders, and made their escape out of the Magazine. This being done, the mutineers without delay ascended the ladders, and commenced attacking us inside the Magazine, which they continued to do till half past 3 in the evening. As they ascended the ladder, they gained admission into the small turret, and as soon as a sufficient number was collected, and were about descending into the Magazine, we opened them with grape from four field pieces, using two at a time, and keeping two loaded reserve. There was only Mr Buckley and myself to man these guns. Two guns, however, were placed at the other gate of the Magazine double charged, under Sub-conduct Crow and Sergeant Edwards: they remained with lighted matches in their hands, with orders from Lieutenant Willoughby not to fire till the gate was forced. Both these men were killed in the Magazine. Another gun was placed on the river face under charge of Conductor Shaw who escaped to the main-guard at the Cashmere Gate, after the Magazine was exploded, and was there shot by a sepoy of the 54th N. I. Lieutenants Willoughby and Raynor were active, going from post to post, giving such orders as were required, superintending the defence, and also personally assisting in it. During the time this was going on, Lieutenant Willoughby and myself frequently went to the gate which was close by, and asked who was leading or commanding the attack, and the same answer was given us on every occasion, viz., a son and a grandson of the King's were present organizing the attack on us; but the men who ascended the scaling ladders and entered the Magazine were all sepoys of the 11th and 20th Regiments N. I. Another message about 1 o'clock came in the King's name to say that if we did not surrender, he would mine and blow up a part of the wall, which was known to be weak, and so effect an entrance...

Ahsan Ulla Khan, Physician to Bahadur Shah Zafar, examined by judge advocate.

Question: Was a Court diary of occurrences at the palace kept by order of the King during the rebellion?

Answer: The Court diary was kept up as usual according to the custom which had preceded the outbreak.

Question: Look at this leaf, and see whether you can recognize the handwriting in it?

Answer: Yes, it is in the handwriting of the man who kept the Court diary, and this leaf is a portion of it.

> *Translation of an Extract from the Court diary for the 16th of May 1857*
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> The King held his Court in the Hall of Special Audience. 49 English were prisoners, and the army demanded that they should be given over to them for slaughter. The King delivered them up, saying 'The army may do as they please,' and the prisoners were consequently put to the sword. There was a large attendance, and all the Chiefs, Nobles, Officials and Writers presented themselves at the Court, and had the honour of paying their respects.

Question: Were you present on the 11th of May at Delhi?

Answer: Yes I was.

Question: Relate what you witnessed on that occasion.

Answer: On the morning of the 16th of Ramzan, alias the 11th of May, at about 3 o'clock AM a Hindu sepoy of the 38th Regiment of Native Infantry came up to the door of the Hall of Special Audience in the palace, and said to some of the door-keepers that happened to be on the spot, that the native army at Meerut had mutinied against the State, and were now on the point of entering Delhi; that he and the rest of them would no longer serve the Company, but would fight for their faith. My house is near the palace and close by the Hall of Special Audience, and I was immediately informed by one of the Mahomedan door-keepers of what

the 38th sepoy had said. I had hardly received this information, when the King of Delhi sent for me. I attended on him immediately, and His Majesty said, 'Look, the Cavalry are coming by the road of the Zer Jharokha' [*Zer Jharokha is literally 'under the lattice', but appears to be a name given generally to the ground immediately under the lattice of the palace*]. I looked and saw about 15 or 20 of the Company's Regular Cavalry, then about 150 yards distant. They were dressed most of them in uniform, but a few had Hindustani clothes on. I immediately suggested to the King to have the gate fastened by which entrance to the palace from the Zer Jharokha is obtained, and this had scarcely been done when five or six of the Sowars came up to the closed gate which leads directly under the Saman Burj Palace, where the King has his own private residence in close contiguity with the apartments of the Queens and other secluded females of the establishment. The Sowars commenced calling out 'Dohai Badshah' or—'Help O King! We pray for assistance in our fight for the faith.' The King hearing this, made no response, nor did he even show himself to the men beneath; but told Ghulam Abbas, Shamshir-ud-doulat, who was also present, to go to Captain Douglas, Commandant of the palace guards, and apprise him of the arrival of the Sowars, and request him to do whatever might be necessary in the case. The King then retired to his inner apartments, and I went to the Hall of Special Audience, and almost immediately Ghulam Abbas returned accompanied by Captain Douglas. The latter instantly went to the balcony overlooking the Zer Jharokha, where the Cavalry still remained, and said to them, 'Go away from this: this is the King's Palace, your presence here is an annoyance to the King.' On this the Cavalry went off in the direction of the Rajghat Gate which gives an entrance to the city immediately to the south of the palace. The King on hearing that Captain Douglas had come, went out and met him in the open space between his private residence and the Hall of Special Audience, when Captain Douglas said to

him, 'Don't be alarmed, the disturbance shall be put down at once, I will have the men apprehended.' He was going off apparently for this purpose, and requested that the gate under the Saman Burj, which I had closed, might be opened to enable him to go and speak to the Cavalry for the purpose of reasoning with them. The King said, 'You have neither pistols, guns or soldiery with you, your going among these men would be indiscreet.' So Captain Douglas then went off to his own apartments. A very short time subsequently to this, Pran Jemadar, a servant of Captain Douglas, came and said that Captain Douglas wished that I and Ghulam Abbas would go to him. We accordingly went, and on seeing Captain Douglas he said to us I have sprained or hurt my foot. There was another gentleman with him whom I did not recognize; he was lying down on a couch and had a saber wound on his right arm. Captain Douglas said, 'Send two palanquins with bearers immediately that the English ladies here may be taken to the Queen and placed under her protection,' and just at this time Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, came into the room and said, 'Get from the King two guns with Artillery and place them at the gateway underneath us.' On this, Mr. Fraser came down from Captain Douglas' apartment above the gate way accompanied by myself and Ghulam Abbas. I and Ghulam Abbas went straight to the King to deliver the above message, and Mr. Fraser stayed at the opening of the gateway. We, with the King's permission, immediately sent the palanquins for the ladies, and also gave instructions about the guns; but shortly after this, information reached us that the Cavalry had entered the palace enclosure by the Lahore Gate where Mr. Fraser wished the guns placed, and over which Captain Douglas had his residence: it was also told us that they had killed Fraser and had gone up to Captain Douglas to kill him. This was instantly confirmed by the return of the palkee bearers who told us that they had witnessed Mr. Fraser's murder, that his body was in the gateway, and that the troopers had ascended to the upper

building for the purpose of murdering those there. The King on hearing this, gave orders for all the gates of the palace to be closed; but answer was given that the Infantry, viz., some of the 38th Native Infantry who were on guard at the palace, would not allow of such being done. After a lapse of some time the Cavalry, to the number of about 50, rode up to the Hall of Special Audience, dismounted and picketed their horses in the adjoining garden. The infantry, I am not sure of what regiments, but I think of all the three Delhi regiments, also came into the palace enclosures, and laid down their beddings in any of the palace buildings that they could make available. The Infantry from Meerut did not reach Delhi till about 2 P.M. of that day; they did not reach Delhi in a body, but came straggling in, and as they arrived joined the Infantry of the Delhi regiments in spreading their bedding over all parts of the palace enclosures. There was no regular Court that day; but the King came out some three or four times to the Hall of Special Audience, where the mutineers were lying about all over the place: and the mutinous troopers came flocking into the palace the whole day and even after the night set in. The 54th came in the evening, and went off at once to occupy the Salimgarh Fort, where they the next day fixed guns which they brought out of the Magazine for the purpose of checking any advance of European troops from Meerut. For three days constant alarms, and especially at nights, were given that the Europeans were coming, when the bugles sounded and the mutineers got under arms. On the 12th of May the Prisoner's sons Mirza Moghal and Mirza Khizr Sultan and grandson Mirza Abu Bakr applied for the principal commands in the army. I represented to the King that they were not of sufficient age and experience for such appointments, nor would they understand any of the duties, and they were much displeased in consequence. The matter remained unending that day. The next day, however, they got Mirza Mendu, Mirza Bakhtawa Shah, and Mirza Abdulla, together with the officers of the army, to join them

in their request, and accordingly two days after, they were severally nominated to commands and received of honour...

Translation of the written defence put in by Bahadur Shah, Ex-King of Delhi.

The real facts are as follows. I had had no intelligence on the subject previously to the day of the outbreak. About 8'o clock A.M., the mutinous troopers suddenly arrived and set up a noisy clamour under the palace windows, saying they had come from Meerut after killing all the English there; and stating, as their reason for having done so, that they had been required to bite with their teeth, cartridges greased with the fat of oxen and swine, in open violation of the caste of both Hindus and Mussulmans. When I heard this, I immediately had the gates under the palace windows closed, and sent intelligence to the Commandant of the Palace Guards. On receiving the message, he came personally, and wishing to go out where the troopers were collected, requested that the gate might be opened. I kept him from his purpose, however, and when I would not allow the gate to be opened, he walked up to the balustrade, and said something to the troopers, who then went away. After this, the Commandant of the Palace Guards left me, saying he would make arrangements immediately to put down the disturbance. Very shortly after, Mr. Fraser sent a message for two guns, and the Commandant another two palanquins, saying that two ladies were staying with him, and requesting that I would have them taken to and concealed in my private female apartments. I sent the palanquins immediately, and gave orders at the same time that the guns should also be taken. Very soon after this, I heard that before the palanquins could reach them, Mr. Fraser, the Commandant of the Palace Guards, and the ladies had all been killed. Not long after this the mutinous soldiery rushed into the Hall of Special Audience, crowding into the Court-yard, the Hall of Special Audience itself, and the Hall of Devotion; surrounding me completely and placing sentries on all sides. I asked

them what their object was, and begged of them to go away. In reply they told me to remain a quiet spectator, saying that they had risked their lives, and would now do all that might be in their power. Fearing that I should be killed, I kept quiet and went to my own private apartments. Near evening, these traitors brought as prisoners some European men and women whom they had found in the Magazine, and resolved on killing them. I had recourse to persuasion, and succeeded in getting their lives spared for the time. The mutinous soldiers, however, kept them prisoners in their own custody. Subsequently, on two occasions, they again determined on killing these Europeans, when I again restrained them from their purpose by entreaty and persuasion, and saved the lives of the prisoners. However, on the last occasion, though I again did all in my power to reason with the rebellious soldiery, they would not heed me, and carried out their purpose of slaying these poor people. I gave no orders for this slaughter. Mirza Moghal, Mirza Khizr Sultan, Mirza Abu Bakr, and Basant, one of my own personal attendants, who had leagued with the soldiery, may have made use of my name; but I have no knowledge that they did; nor do I know that my own armed retainers, acting independently of my orders, joined in the slaughter. If they did so, they may have been urged into it by Mirza Moghal. Even after the massacre, no one gave me any information regarding it. In reference to what some of the witnesses have said in evidence regarding my servants having joined in killing Mr. Fraser and the Commandant of the Palace Guards, I make the same answer, viz., that I gave them no orders. That if they did so, they did it of their own free will. I had no knowledge of it, and this matter also was not communicated to me. I swear by God, who is my witness, that I did not give orders for the death of Mr. Fraser or of any other European. Mukund Lal and other witnesses in saying that I did, have spoken falsely. That Mirza Moghal and Mirza Khizr Sultan may have given orders would not be strange, for they had leagued with the

revolted soldiery. After these occurrences, the rebellious troops brought Mirza Moghal, Mirza Khizr Sultan, and Abu Bakr, and said they wished to have them as their officers. In the first instance, I rejected their request; but when the soldiery persisted, and Mirza Moghal in anger went off to his mother's house, from dread of the soldiers I kept quiet in the matter, and then by mutual consent on both sides, Mirza Moghal was appointed to be Commander-in-Chief of the army. As regards the orders under my seal, and under my signature, the real state of case is that from the day the soldiery came and killed the European Officers, and made me a prisoner, I remained in their power as such. All papers they thought fit, they caused to be prepared, and, bringing them to me, compelled me to affix my seal. Sometimes they brought the rough drafts of orders, and had fair copies of them made by my secretary. At other times, they brought the original letters intended for despatch, and left copies of them in the office. Hence several rough drafts in a diversity of hands have been filed in the proceedings. Frequently they had the seal impressed on the outside of empty unaddressed envelopes. There is no knowing what papers they sent in these or to whom they sent them. There is a petition in the proceedings without an address from Mukund Lal to some unknown party, in which a list is given of the number of orders issued on that date. In this catalogue it is distinctly specified that so many orders were written under the direction of so and so; so many others under that of such a one; and so on; but not one is ascribed to me. Accordingly, this also proves, that whoever wished, had orders written as he chose, without my authority, not even acquainting me with their purport, while I and my secretary being in jeopardy of our lives, could not dare to say anything in the matter. It was just the same as regards the petitions bearing orders in my own writing. Whenever the soldiers or Mirza Moghal, or Mirza Khizr Sultan, or Abu Bakr, brought a petition, they invariably came accompanied by the officers of the army, and brought the

order they desired, written in a separate piece of paper, and compelled me to transcribe it with my own hand on the petition. Matters went on so far in this way that they used to say, so that I might hear them, that those who would not attend to their wishes would be made to repent their conduct, and for fear of them I could say nothing. Moreover, they used to accuse my servants of sending letters to and of keeping in league with the English, more particularly the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan, Mahbub Ali Khan, and the queen Zinat Mahall, whom they said they would kill for doing so. Thus one day, they did actually plunder the physician's house, and made him a prisoner, intending to kill him; but refrained from their purpose only after much entreaty and supplication, keeping him a prisoner, however, still. After this, they placed others of my servants in arrest, for instance Shamshir-ud-dowlat, the father of the queen Zinat Mahall. They even declared they would depose me, and make Mirza Moghal king. It is a matter for patient and just consideration then, what power in any way did I possess, or what reason had I to be satisfied with them? The officers of the army went even so far as to require that I should make over the queen Zinat Mahall to them that they might keep her a prisoner, saying she maintained friendly relations with the English. Now, if I was in the full exercise of power and authority, should I have permitted the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan's and Mahbub Ali Khan's imprisonment; and should I have allowed the physician's house to be plundered? The mutinous soldiery had established a court in which all matters were deliberated on, and such measures as, after deliberation, were sanctioned by this council, they adopted; but I never took any part in their conferences. Thus, without my knowledge or orders, they plundered, not only many individuals, but several entire streets, plundering, robbing, killing and imprisoning all they chose; and forcibly extorting whatever sums of money they thought fit from the merchants and other respectable residents of the city, and appropriating such exactions to their own private purposes.

All that has been done, was done by that rebellious army. I was in their power, what could I do? They came suddenly, and made me a prisoner. I was helpless, and constrained by my fears, I did whatever they required, otherwise they would immediately have killed me. This is universally known. I found myself in such a predicament that I was weary of my life, while my officials had no hopes of their being spared. In this state of things, I resolved to accept poverty, and adopted the garb, coloured with red earth, as a religious mendicant, intending to go first to the shrine of the Kutb Sahib, thence to Ajmir, and from Ajmir eventually to Mecca; but the army would not allow me; it was the soldiery who plundered the Government magazine and treasury, and did what they pleased. I took nothing from them, nor did they bring any of the plunder to me. They, one day, went to the house of the queen Zinat Mahall, intending to plunder it, but did not succeed in breaking open the door. It should accordingly be considered if they were subservient to my authority, or had I been in league with them, how would these things have occurred? In addition to all this, it is worthy of consideration that no person demands the wife of the poorest man, saying 'Give her to me, I will make her a prisoner.' As regards the Abyssinian, Kambar, he obtained leave from me to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. I did not send him to Persia, nor did I send any letters by him to the Persian King. Someone has falsely circulated this story: Muhammad Durwesh's petition is no document of mine that it should be trusted: if any enemy of mine or of the Mian Hasan Askari has sent this petition, it ought not to be relied on. As regards the behaviour of that rebellious army, it may be stated that they never saluted me even, nor showed me any other mark of respect. They used to walk into the Hall of Special Audience and the Hall of Devotion with their shoes on. What confidence could I place in troops who had murdered their own masters? In the same way that they murdered them, they made me a prisoner, and tyrannized over me, keeping

me in order to make use of my name as a sanction for their acts. Seeing that these troops killed their own officers, men of high authority and power, how was I, without an army, without treasure, without stores of ammunition, without artillery, to have resisted them, or make arrangements against them? But I never gave them aid in any shape ... Moreover, I dispatched a letter the same night by camel express to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, acquainting him with the calamitous occurrences which had happened here. So long as I had power, I did all that I was able. I did not go out in procession of my own free will. I was in the power of the soldiery; and they forcibly did what they pleased. The few servants I engaged, I engaged for the protection of my own life, in consequence of my fears of the revolted and rebellious troops. When these troops prepared to abscond, finding an opportunity, I got away secretly under the palace windows, and went and stayed in Humayun's Mausoleum. From this place I was summoned with a guarantee that my life would be spared, and I at once placed myself under the protection of the Government. The mutinous troops wished to take me with them, but I would not go. In all the above which I have caused to be written from my own dictation, there is not the smallest falsehood nor deviation from truth. God knows, and is my witness, that I have written only what is strictly true, and the whole of what I can remember. I told you with an oath, at the commencement, that I would write only the truth, without addition or deficiency; and so I have now done ...

The Judge Advocate General then addressed the Court as follows:

Gentlemen, it will be my object, in the present address, to collect the different facts which have been elicited in the course of these proceedings, and to furnish them to you as far as possible in the order in which they originally occurred. Our investigation has involved inquiry over a period of several months, when rebellion was rampant in this city:

and I trust we have succeeded in tracing, with considerable minuteness, many of the different events as they evolved themselves during the time to which I have referred. Our labours indeed have not had this limit, or we should only have accomplished what might, I think, be termed the least important part of our duties. In immediate connection with the facts elicited are the charges on which the Prisoner has been arraigned: and, though his former rank and royalty will doubtless add somewhat of temporary importance to the verdict which you will this day be called upon to record, yet whether it be one of acquittal or conviction, it must, I imagine, prove light in the balance when weighed against those more monstrous points to which so much attention has been, and for a long time will still be, directed. I of course allude to the causes, either remote or immediate, which gave rise to a revolt unparalleled in the annals of history, either for the savagery which has been its distinctive feature, or for the suddenness with which elements, hitherto deemed utterly discordant on the score of religion, have united themselves in a common crusade against a faith which, as regards the inhabitants of this country, whether Mahomedan or Hindu, was certainly a most unaggressive one. I fear, however, the subject is still but imperfectly elucidate; and I may perhaps be in error in attributing a religious influence to a movement which, after all, may prove to have been merely a political one—a struggle of the natives for power and place, by the expulsion from the country of a people alien in religion, in blood, in colour, in habits, in feelings, and in everything. Whatever the final opinion on this subject may be, the questions, which as far as I am aware of have not as yet found a satisfactory solution, are: by what circumstances was this most atrocious revolt with its series of massacres brought about, and who were its prime original instigators? I feel sure the members of this Court will join with me in deeming that our proceedings do not furnish a full and complete answer to such questions, and why do they not?—I believe it is simply

owing to the circumstance that any merely local investigation must be inadequate to collect evidence from the different quarters and sources, which are no doubt available elsewhere. We may still, however, hope that our efforts on this point have not been fruitless or unavailing;—if we cannot congratulate ourselves on an entire success, we may perhaps be allowed credit for a near approach to it. Few, I imagine, will peruse these voluminous proceedings without coming to the conclusion that intrigues and conspiracy have long been rife at this fostering Court of Delhi. Insignificant and contemptible as to an outward show of power, it would appear that this possessor of mere nominal royalty has ever been looked upon by Mahomedan fanaticism as the head and culminating star of its faith. In him have still been centred the hopes and aspirations of millions. They have looked up to him as the source of honour, and, more than this, he has proved the rallying point not only to Mahomedans, but to thousands of others with whom it was supposed no bond of fanatical union could possibly be established. To throw the fullest light on a subject like this, is not the work of a day, or of a month; time, the great revealer of secrets, will doubtless, sooner or later, lay bare the springs from which a stream of so much evil and misery has flowed; but, till then, we must be content with such views as our present investigation affords. That we have been able to unravel many of the secret workings of the conspirators, will, I believe, be conceded:—but let me not anticipate. This is a point of our enquiry on which I purpose to offer some observations hereafter; but a concise narrative of events will perhaps best suit the commencement of this address.

I may state then, that 85 men, non-commissioned officers and troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry, who were tried by General Court-martial at Meerut in May last, for refusing their cartridges, had their sentence read to them and were ironed on the parade ground early on the morning of the 9th of May, and that the mutiny of the three native regiments at Meerut first openly developed itself at about ½ past 6

o'clock on the evening of the 10th of May; during which interval of nearly 36 hours there were, of course, plenty of opportunities for interchange of communications between the native troops who first rebelled at Meerut, and those who joined them at this station. To travel from one place to another by coach used ordinarily to take about five hours, and that the mutineers availed themselves of this facility of mutual intercourse, has, I think, been clearly established by the evidence of Captain Tytler. It appears from his statement that a coach, full of these Meerut mutineers, came on Sunday evening to the lines of the 38th Native Infantry, doubtless to prepare the sepoys of this station for the arrival and suitable reception, on Monday morning, of their rebel comrades, and although we may not possess positive evidence to the fact, yet it may fairly be presumed that Sunday evening was not the first occasion that these plotters of evil held their secret and sinister councils together. Indeed we have it on record that, even before the Court, which tried the mutinous cavalry at Meerut, had come to any decision on their case, a compact had been entered in to the effect that if the use of greased cartridges was persisted in, the troops at Meerut and Delhi would unite, and at once unfurl the standard of revolt: and so fully had this arrangement been perfected and agreed on, that it is related that the sepoy guards at the gate of the palace on Sunday evening, made no secret of their intentions but spoke openly among themselves of what they expected to occur on the morrow. To understand the merits and demerits of the whole transaction, it must be recollected that, at the time when these resolutions were arrived at, there was not a single greased cartridge in the magazines of either of the three native regiments at Meerut, nor, as far as I have been informed, of those at Delhi either. It must be further borne in mind that the native soldiers themselves were the persons who were perhaps the best informed on these points:—that the cartridges for practice had, from time immemorial, been manufactured in the regimental magazines by persons of their own colour, creed and

religious persuasion:—that it was absolutely impossible to palm off on them a spurious article:—that the regimental khalassies, who were employed in making these cartridges, must have at once discovered their impurity, if such had really existed;—that, in fact, objectionable cartridges (I mean such as would affect the religious prejudices of either Mussulman or Hindu) could not possibly have been made in their regimental magazines, as in such case the very men to be employed in their manufacture would have refused their work:—but, more than this, let it be remembered that the Mahomedan has no caste, that even the hybrid such as the Mahomedans of Central India has become, half Mussulman and half Hindu, does not pretend to loss of religion, even from touching pork. Who is there amongst us that has not and does not almost daily witness these Mahomedans, in the capacity of table servants, carrying plates and dishes which openly contain the very substance which, in reference to the cartridges, has been made the pretence and the stumbling block of their offence. Even if we were to admit that all the cartridges were thoroughly saturated with pig's and with cow's fat, still what real valid objection on the score of their religion could the Mahomedan sepoys have had in using them? Their brothers and other relatives in the private service of officers never hesitate to handle or cook the dishes which they are required to bring to our tables. The objections of the Mahomedan sepoys on this head are so transparently false, that it can hardly be a matter of wonder that not one man of sense or respectability among them appears ever to have come forward to seek information or satisfy himself as to the truth or falsity or rumours so industriously circulated about these cartridges that were to be the means of depriving them of their faith. Some few—very few—honourable exceptions have certainly held aloof from, and openly repudiated, the conduct of their brethren: but such men have wanted neither guarantees nor explanations in regard to a matter which was patent to all, but have come to their own conclusions on a subject where

error had no abiding place and mistake is incredible. That neither Mussulman nor Hindu had any honest objection to the use of any of the cartridges at Meerut or at Delhi, is sufficiently proved by the eagerness with which they sought possession of them, and the alacrity with which they used them, when their aim and object was the murder of their European Officers, or when, united under the banners of the Prisoner at your bar, they, for months, constantly went forth to fight against the power to which they owed fealty and allegiance. Among the very numerous petitions which have been brought under your notice during these proceedings, it may have struck the Court as very strange that there is not a single one in which the slightest allusion is made to what the sepoys would have us believe to be their great and particular grievance ... How instructive is it that, among themselves, and when applying to us such language as 'damnable hell-doomed infidels', they apparently forego the first specific offence, which they would have us believe has led them to mutiny and rebellion, and the perpetration of crimes at which humanity shudders! When with each other, and, as they conceived, safe from the intrusion and enquiries of British officers, that insurmountable obstacle to their fidelity and allegiance, the greased cartridge is, apparently, altogether lost sight of. Not a whisper is heard of a grievance which, if a substantial one, must even have been uppermost in the memories of all;—must have been continually rankling in their minds and embittering their thoughts;—must have influenced them in their bloodthirstiness; and to themselves, have been their only extenuation for crimes such as may well exclude them from mercy. What a contrast this to their speeches when uttered with a prospect of reaching European ears!—Greased cartridges are then always brought forward; the use of them forms the one continuous nightmare of the sepoy's existence. Really, if we reflect seriously on this,—if we remember that in reality there was not a single greased cartridge among either of the three regiments which first broke out into mutiny, murdering, not only men, but unoffending women

and children, and that the sepoys were perfectly aware of this;—when we call to mind that, even if greased cartridges had existed, and the use of them been required at the hands of these miscreants, not one of the Mahomedans at any rate could possibly have been injured thereby in any caste prejudice, or placed even in temporary difficulty with regard to his religious tenets;—when to this we add, what is well known to everyone in India, whether Hindu, Mahomedan or European, viz., that the native soldier has but to ask for his discharge, and that, in time of peace, it is at once granted to him, without enquiry or difficulty of any kind;—it seems beyond the bounds of reason to imagine that these men were drawn into acts of such revolting atrocity by any grievance either real or imagined. Let the chimeras, the disturbed dreams of fanaticism, of wickedness, or of folly have been what they may;—let the instigations to evil have been as industrious as possible;—and then allow that the sepoys to be worked upon were as credulous as the grossest ignorance could make them;—still, if the greased cartridge had been the only weapon the tamperers had to work with,—but the one envenomed shaft in their quiver—how easy was the remedy! It required no depth of knowledge, no philosopher to inform them, that they could at once escape from every possible perplexity by simply applying for their discharge. I know not, Gentlemen, what conclusion you may arrive at on this much vexed question, but, after pondering it in every way in which my reason has presented it to me, I am obliged to infer that something deeper and more powerful than the use of greased cartridges has been resorted to...

I think Gentlemen, everyone must allow that if we had no other evidence of a plot, no testimony indicative of a previous conspiracy, the very nature of the outbreak itself must have convinced us of the existence of one ... If we review the actions and whole conduct of these mutineers, we shall soon see that, from the very commencement, they bear the impress of cunning and of secret combination ...

We stop to enquire whether it has been proved in this

Court, and will be repeated in after years, that the last king of the imperial house of Taimur was an accomplice in this villainy. The circumstances shall now be fairly stated. These murders were committed in the broad glare of day, before dozens of witnesses, and without the slightest attempt at concealment. They were perpetrated, as has been already stated, by the Prisoner's own retainers, and within the limits of his palace, where, be it remembered even under the Company's Government, his jurisdiction was paramount. I shall not, however, attempt to infer that these murders must have been previously sanctioned by the Prisoner,—mere inferences on such a point cannot be accepted in a Court of Justice. I prefer to quote from the evidence. It is Ahsan Ulla Khan, the physician, who is speaking, and who says, that at the time referred to, he and Ghulam Abbas, the attorney in Court, were with the King, when it was told them that the troopers had killed Mr. Fraser, and had gone up to Captain Douglas to kill him, and that this was instantly confirmed by the return of the palkee bearers, who told them that they had witnessed Mr. Fraser's murder; that his body was in the gateway, and that the troopers had ascended to the upper building for the purpose of murdering those there. Why the witness suppresses all mention of the prominent part the King's own servants took in these massacres can easily be imagined. In a subsequent part of his examination, he even asserts that he never heard that any of the King's servants joined in these murders, nay more, that it was not generally known who committed them! Such is the evasion of the King's own physician, who doubtless was aware of the importance that would necessarily attach to this point. It was not generally known who committed these murders? And, yet, at this lapse of time, we have had no difficulty in tracing the individuals, and ascertaining their names. It was not generally known that the King's own servants were the murderers! And yet we find this very circumstance prominently and specifically mentioned at the time in the native newspapers of the city. I need not, after this,

recapitulate the evidence of all those who have clearly and satisfactorily proved that the King's servants were the murderers; for their testimony stands unshaken and unrefuted...

To attribute to them [sepoys] anything of this nature, would be to give them credit for a coolness of calculation, combined with a quickness of apprehension, such as pertains only to the more gifted of mankind. The scope and entire progress of the scheme speak loudly of a plan previously arranged, and of deliberations long matured by the counsels of many. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive that anyone, not previously initiated in the secret, could, on the moment, so promptly and so effectually have entered upon and adopted the details necessary for carrying it out. You will recollect the extreme importance of the decision, the magnitude of the interests at stake ... By embarking in so forlorn a cause [joining the mutineers], he [Bahadur Shah Zafar] imperilled everything; his own life, and those of all belonging to him, and for what? The distant glimmer of a crown, which common reason, or the slightest consideration, would have convinced him was a mere ignis fatuus—a mockery of a sceptre, that would evade his grasp ... if such previous understanding and collusion did not exist either with the King or any of those immediately about him, are we to attribute to superstition and the pretended revelation of dreams, circumstances which scarcely admit of satisfactory solution by any more sober process? ...

If I have not succeeded in tracing to the King himself a foreknowledge of the leading events that were to take place on Monday the 11th of May, I trust it has been made obvious that the secret was in the possession of some influential inmates of the palace. The babbling garrulity of the prince Jawan Bakht sufficiently indicates this, for such is his joy at the anticipation of murdering the English that he is unable to restrain his expression of it. My chief object, however, has been to render clear what I believe to be the truth, viz., that the conspiracy, from the very commencement,

was not confined to the sepoys, and did not even originate with them, but had its ramifications throughout the palace and the city: and do not the murders which we have already adverted to, tend to corroborate this fact? We have evidence that the mutineers of the 11th and 20th Regiments of Native Infantry, before the Magazine was exploded, proceeded to attack and escalade it, and it is then for the first time that we find the King, through his troops, acting in open alliance with these traitors to their government. From that moment there is no further disguise, and no attempt at concealment. Fairly launched into the stream of sedition, he is hurried onward by the swollen flood which was not however to bear him, as he imagined, to the throne of Hindustan, but to leave him in its ebb a mere helpless wreck upon the sands...

I am not going to weary the Court by repeating even a tenth part of the evidence which has been brought forward to establish these charges, but it is perhaps necessary to show that proof of them has been recorded ... The evidence that connects the Prisoner with Muhammed Bakht Khan, Subadar of the Artillery, and which of itself will be sufficient to establish the charge, is a document from beginning to end in the Prisoner's own handwriting ...

The consideration of the specific charges against the Prisoner being now closed, I trust it may not be thought presumptuous, if I offer some observations on the evidence elicited as to the cause of the late rebellion and of the existence of previous conspiracy. I have, in a former part of this address, argued that if the native regiments, previous to the cartridge question being mooted, had been in a sound and well affected state, such a frightful, and all but universal revolt could not have occurred, that there must have been some other and more latent power at work to have thus operated on a whole army scattered in different cantonments from Calcutta to Peshawar. I think that such could not have been accomplished without some secret mutual understanding, and some previous preparation, the

establishment of which may appropriately be termed conspiracy. I have stated also that it seems as if it was not owing to a *cartridge* of any kind, that such an amount of mutiny and murder has solely to be attributed; but I should be more than blind to all that has appeared on these proceedings and elsewhere, if I failed to recognize in the cartridge question, the immediate means or instrument adopted for bringing about a much desired end. It seems to have been the spark, not accidentally shot forth, but deliberately chosen to explode a mine previously prepared. In alluding then to the existence of a conspiracy, I do not mean to imply that we have come upon traces of a particular gang of men specially banded together for the fixed definite object of causing the late rebellion in the native army, in any manner similar to that in which we have seen it developed; but such evidence as we have been able to obtain does appear to me to point out that, for a considerable time antecedent to the 10th of May, agitation and disaffection to British rule among the Mahomedans was more than ordinarily prevalent, and that such disaffection had been stimulated by active and designing men, who have most craftily taken advantage of every circumstance that could be made suitable for such a purpose. The annexation of Oudh to British rule was perhaps one of these. It seems to have been particularly displeasing to the Mahomedans, as annihilating the last throne left to them in India; and for some other reasons, it would appear to have been almost equally unpalatable to the Hindu sepoy ...

It seems to me, however, apparent that it was not and could not have been the greased cartridge *alone* that effected it. There was previous preparation among the sepoys; and there was also a general unsettling of men's minds throughout the country, and among the Mahomedans in particular. I believe, indeed, that the facts elicited on this point may be ranged appropriately under the head of 'Mahomedan conspiracy', the chief object of which seems to have been to spread disaffection and distrust of British rule, and, by the

dissemination of false and evil reports, and by fabrications of the most insidious kind, to prepare all the people for change and insurrection. As far as can be traced, the commencement of this must have originated with the Prisoner or with some of those, such as Hasan Askari and others, who were admitted to his most secret and confidential councils. Be this as it may, there cannot, I imagine, be a doubt that in sending Sidi Kambar to Persia and Constantinople as an ambassador with letters to the sovereign of that country, soliciting aid and elevation to a throne, the Prisoner became the principal in a conspiracy which, indirectly, at any rate, must have been auxiliary to the recent frightful outbreak and its attendant horrors. It is worthy of particular notice, as connecting the two together, that this Sidi Kambar's departure took place, according to the most reliable account, just two years before May 1857, and that his promised return, with the aid sought for, was fixed for the time when the outbreak actually took place. Coupling this with the prophecy among the Mahomedans that English sovereignty in India was to cease 100 years after its first establishment by the battle of Plassey in 1757, we are able to form something more than conjecture as to the causes which have given to Mahomedan fanaticism its delusive hope of recovering all its former prestige. I have already alluded to the dream of Hasan Askari the priest, and its interpretation so plausibly contrived to correspond with the wishes of the King, and of those about him. The circumstance may seem trivial to us, but it was doubtless a means well calculated to make a deep impression upon the superstitious minds of those to whom it was addressed, and to cause expectation and belief in what was predicted by one said to be possessed of miraculous powers, and accredited with holding direct communication with heaven ...

The next point to which I shall advert, is the circulation of the chapaties in the form of ship biscuits. Now, whether they were sent round under the fiction of a government order, signifying that in future there should be but one food

and one faith, or whether, according to another interpretation, they were meant to sound a note of alarm and preparation, giving warning to the people to stand by one another on any danger menacing them, the contrivance was a most insidious one, and calculated to breed distrust and suspicion in the hearts of many who were strangers to such feelings before. That it created no stronger impression on the native mind than it did, is perhaps attributable only to the early check it received at the hands of authority, and it would doubtless be both interesting and important, if we could discover how and by whom such a proceeding was initiated. This and the false rumour about mixing ground bones with the flour had doubtless one common origin, and it is not going beyond the bounds of fair indication or reasonable inference, to attribute both one and the other to the unceasing wiles of Mahomedan conspiracy. We perceive that the Hindu sepoys under the impulse of a first re-action in their feelings, reproached the Mahomedans with misleading them, and it is a most significant fact on these proceedings, that though we come upon traces of Mussulman intrigue wherever our investigation has carried us, yet not one paper has been found to show that the Hindus, as a body, had been conspiring against us, or that their brahmans and priests had been preaching a crusade against Christians. In their case there has been no king to set up, no religion to be propagated by the sword. To attribute to them, under such circumstances, the circulation of these chapaties or the fabrications about ground bones in the flour, would be to ascribe to them acts without a meaning, and a criminal deception without any adequate motive ...

I do not mean to wade through, and to quote all the extracts from the newspapers that bear out the fact of a Mahomedan conspiracy. That appears to me unnecessary, believe I shall have no difficulty in establishing it by other testimony.

Thus the bitter zeal of Mahomedanism meets us everywhere. It is conspicuous in the papers, flagrant in the

petitions, and perfectly demoniac in its actions. There seems indeed scarce any exemption from its contagious touch ...

Finding

The Court, on the evidence before them, are of opinion that the Prisoner Muhammad Bahadur Shah, Ex-King of Delhi, is Guilty of all and every part of the Charges preferred against him.

M. Dawes, Lieut.-Col., President
Delhi,
The 9th March 1858.

F.J. Harriott, Major,
Deputy Judge Advocate General

Approved and Confirmed

N. Penny, Major-General,
Commanding Meerut Division
Camp Saharun,
The 2nd April 1858.

—(*Proceedings on the Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah*, p. 1-2, 36–39, 107–09, 113–15, 125–28, 136-37, 144–46, 188–91, 191–94, 195-96, 196–202, 203, 210, 213–15, 217–22 emphasis in original)

EURO-AMERICAN RESPONSES

European and American responses to 1857 also ranged from the critical to the sympathetic. Most of the commentators were appalled at the massacres and also by the brutal reprisals of the British administration. Many blamed Britain's imperial policies. Others suggested that this was a civilizational fight between Christianity and paganism, and proposed that as Christians they ought to stand by Britain.

Documents from the period often explore the history of British India, the relations between the races and the role of religion as they seek explanations and justifications for the events of 1857.

'Mutiny in the Native East India Army', news item in the *New York Daily Times*, 6 July 1857:

The Bombay and Calcutta papers, received by late mails, contain accounts of mutiny which, breaking out in the 19th regiment of native infantry in Bengal, was spreading like an epidemic through the cantonments of the British Army in Northern India ... It is a strange fact that this place [Barrackpore], in the immediate vicinity of the capital of India, where the results of European civilization and

enterprise are more apparent than in any other part of Hindostan, has become famous for mutinies ...

It is not evident that the cause of this mutiny is understood by the India Government. That Government has always had a fondness for attributing these disturbances among the Sepoys to their caste prejudices; to their suspicion that they are to be converted from Paganism to Christianity...

Now, if the British dominion in India is held by so false a tenure that the teachings of Christianity and the influences of civilization will overthrow it, pray what is its value to its subjects in India, or what credit does it reflect upon its protectors in England! If the one hundred and fifty millions of Hindoos and Mussulmans who have been subdued by the British sword, can now, after the lapse of a century, be kept in subjection, only by being kept in paganism, what hope is there that the day of their civilization will ever dawn? Every attempt to civilize them is, according to the Governor-General, an attempt to make them revolt against their Christian masters ...

But the Government itself has, unawares, and for a series of years, been lending itself to this work of conversion, of which it now has so much fear ... It has enacted laws prohibiting those horrible self-tortures of the Hindoo devotee; prohibiting infanticide and self-immolation under the wheels of Juggernauth. It has abolished the Sattee, altered the law of Hindoo inheritances, legalized widow's remarriages ... We hold that such legislation is right, although it conflicts with the religious prejudices of that people, and with all their caste superstitions ...

The fact has long since become apparent to every disinterested observer of East Indian history, that as long as the British Government pays deference to caste in any shape—as long as it humours the superstitions and prejudices that benight the Hindoo mind, so long will its power in India be jeopardized by the mutinies and rebellions of the natives. There cannot be two masters of the Indian Empire. The Briton must rule it politically and religiously, or he

must be overrun by the treacherous and rebellious Indian. Every instance of servile respect for the caste superstition of the Hindoo subject can only be attributed by him to fear in his Christian conqueror. It emboldens him for rebellion.

'The Mutiny Spreading', *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 27 July 1857, p. 3:

Taken from *The North American*
'The Mutiny Spreading'

The mutiny among the Sepoy's [sic] is represented to have spread to an alarming extent.

Twenty-three native regiments had joined it.

The insurgents had been defeated outside the walls of Delhi, but still held possession of the city.

MARK TWAIN, *Following the Equator*:

It seems to be settled, now, that among the many causes from which the Great Mutiny sprang, the main one was the annexation of the kingdom of Oudh by the East India Company—characterized by Sir Henry Lawrence as 'the most unrighteous act that was ever committed'. In the spring of 1857, a mutinous spirit was observable in many of the native garrisons, and it grew day by day and spread wider and wider. The younger military men saw something very serious in it, and would have liked to take hold of it vigorously and stamp it out promptly; but they were not in authority. Old-men were in the high places of the army—men who should have been retired long before, because of their great age—and they regarded the matter as a thing of no consequence ...

And so the propagators of mutiny had everything their own way. They moved from camp to camp undisturbed,

and painted to the native soldier the wrongs his people were suffering at the hands of the English, and made his heart burn for revenge ...

The British forces were native; they had been trained by the British, organized by the British, armed by the British, all the power was in their hands—they were a club made by British hands to beat out British brains with. There was nothing to oppose their mass, nothing but a few weak battalions of British soldiers scattered about India, a force not worth speaking of. This argument, taken alone, might not have succeeded, for the bravest and best Indian troops had a wholesome dread of the white soldier, whether he was weak or strong; but the agitators backed it with their second and best point prophecy—a prophecy a hundred years old. The Indian is open to prophecy at all times; argument may fail to convince him, but not prophecy. There was a prophecy that a hundred years from the year of that battle of Clive's which founded the British Indian Empire, the British power would be overthrown and swept away by the natives ...

Nana Sahib's massacre of the surrendered garrison of Cawnpore occurred in June, and the long siege of Lucknow began. The military history of England is old and great, but I think it must be granted that the crushing of the Mutiny is the greatest chapter in it. The British were caught asleep and unprepared. They were a few thousands, swallowed up in an ocean of hostile populations. It would take months to inform England and get help, but they did not falter or stop to count the odds, but with English resolution and English devotion they took up their task, and went stubbornly on with it, through good fortune and bad, and fought the most unpromising fight that one may read of in fiction or out of it, and won it thoroughly ...

The women and children who had been reserved from the massacre [at Cawnpore] were imprisoned during a fortnight in a small building, one story high—a cramped place, a slightly modified Black Hole of Calcutta. They were

waiting in suspense; there was none who could foretaste their fate. Meantime the news of the massacre had traveled far and an army of rescuers with Havelock at its head was on its way—at least an army which hoped to be rescuers. It was crossing the country by forced marches, and strewing its way with its own dead men struck down by cholera, and by a heat which reached 135 deg. It was in a vengeful fury, and it stopped for nothing—neither heat, nor fatigue, nor disease, nor human opposition. It tore its impetuous way through hostile forces, winning victory after victory, but still striding on and on, not halting to count results. And at last, after this extraordinary march, it arrived before the walls of Cawnpore, met the Nana's massed strength, delivered a crushing defeat, and entered.

But too late—only a few hours too late. For at the last moment the Nana had decided upon the massacre of the captive women and children, and had commissioned three Mohammedans and two Hindoos to do the work ...

And we saw the scene [Cawnpore] of the slaughter of the helpless women and children, and also the costly memorial that is built over the well which contains their remains. The Black Hole of Calcutta is gone, but a more reverent age is come, and whatever remembrances still exist of the moving and heroic sufferings and achievements of the garrisons of Lucknow and Cawnpore will be guarded and preserved.

—(Twain, 1897: 549–70)

***The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 30 July 1857, p. 5:**

According to the Bombay correspondent of the London *Times*, the Mutiny will cost the Bengal army, the whole or greater part of twenty-eight regiments of foot, four of horse, two companies of artillery ... All accounts agree in stating that Delhi is the great center of the rebellion; but before the

mail left telegraphic reports were received announcing that the fall of the city was expected every hour ... It was also reported that a panic existed among the mutineers ... and that the King was anxious to throw himself on British protection. Under these circumstances, we may hear of the fall of Delhi by the next mail. A terrible example will be made, of course, of the misguided sepoys, who, without any ultimate aim or concert of action, have taken up arms and committed such horrible atrocities. Some of the local newspapers hint that the entire city of Delhi will be razed to the ground, and every mutineer within its walls put to the sword.

'England and Her Indian Empire', *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 7 August 1857, p. 2:

When distant colonies have been acquired by the sword and held by the strong arm, they become a perpetual source of weakness and debility. England is one of the most forcible illustrations ... Her Indian subjects are in revolt, and threaten, if not to cast off her yoke entirely, at least to require all her available military means to retain them in subjection ...

The immediate origin of the Indian revolt is worthy of consideration ... The native army was officered chiefly by the Englishman, and all the officers who were acquainted with the language and habits of thought and prejudice of the natives were selected for staff appointments, and those were left in command who were ignorant of Hindostanee, and knew nothing of the private feelings of the soldiers. In some few corps, chance linguists remained, and those corps *did not mutiny, as their officers learned their complaints and explained matters to them.*

So persistently and injudiciously had their religion been tampered with, that they laid hold of circumstances entirely unconnected with proselytism as proof that their ancient

faith was to be destroyed at all hazards. They thought that it was only required to make them eat pig's fat or bullock's flesh; and as the cartridges were greased with these very substances, they held meetings to resent what they supposed to be another attack on their faith. This was the origin of the mutiny.

(Emphasis in the original)

'Danger to the English Power in India', *The New York Daily Times*, 3 August 1857, p. 4:

Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Napier, the most efficient soldier ever in the East Indian service, has left on record the opinion that 'Mutiny is the greatest danger threatening India—a danger that may come unexpectedly and with a power to shake the very foundation of our Eastern Empire'. The old soldier was not an alarmist, and had he lived to the present time he might now see his prophetic opinion confirmed to an extent that he never anticipated ...

The great Brahmin confederacy of the Bengal army has declared itself in open hostility to the English Government, and, by revolts, dispersions and slaughters, 30,000 native troops have, in less than one month, vanished from its ranks, and are lost forever to the English power ... They [the Sepoy armies of Bombay and Madras] are all mercenaries—drafted by the conquerors of India, from the ranks of the conquered people, to hold in subjection their own conquered countrymen ...

And this is the greatest munity [sic]. The mutiny of 1857 is remarkable, not only for the concert of its action, the extent to which it has spread, and the stubbornness with which, at the last accounts, it was maintaining itself against the English power, but also for its influence upon the commercial markets of India ...

It appears to a disinterested observer that the English Government is disposed to ignore the real danger now

threatening its power in India ... Lord Canning has probably learned by this time that every Sepoy complaint, whether about cartridges or batta, or any offence to caste, is merely a pretence; and that, through all the Bengal army, a treasonable conspiracy has been quietly and extensively formed to overthrow the English power ... and that the rebel representative of the Great Mogul, who, at the last accounts, had held possession of that city [Delhi] for four weeks against and English siege—was a crowned King in the hearts of the Sepoys, long before the new cartridges were thought of.

'State of the Indian Mutiny', *The New York Daily Times*, 25 November 1857, p. 4:

The menacing importance of the Sepoy revolt has been thoroughly dissipated. The mutineers, under the inspiration of their Mohammedan leaders, made this outbreak, from the first a contest of race with race. They challenged the superiority of the rulers to whom, for a century, they and their fathers had submitted ...

In a word, the work of the British was rapidly defining itself within limits comparatively narrow, and the tide of danger was ebbing as it rapidly as it rose.

Charles Creighton Hazewell, 'The Indian Revolt', *Atlantic Monthly*, 1, 2 (1857), pp. 217–22:

For the first time in the history of the English dominion in India, its power has been shaken from within its own possessions, and by its own subjects. Whatever attacks have been made upon it heretofore have been from without, and its career of conquest has been the result to which they have led. But now no external enemy threatens it, and the English

in India have found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with a portion of their subjects, not so much for dominion as for life. There had been signs and warnings, indeed, of the coming storm; but the feeling of security in possession and the confidence of moral strength were so strong, that the signs had been neglected and the warnings disregarded ...

The anticipated mutiny has now come, its first symptoms were treated with utter want of judgment, and its power is shaking the whole fabric of the English rule in India ... Practice with the new Enfield rifle had just been introduced, and the cartridges were greased for use in order not to foul the gun. The rumor spread among the Sepoys that there was a trick played upon them,—that this was but a device to pollute them and destroy their caste, and the first step toward a general and forcible conversion of the soldiers to Christianity. The groundlessness of the idea upon which this alarm was founded afforded no hindrance to its ready reception, nor was the absurdity of the design attributed to the ruling powers apparent to the obscured and timid intellect of the Sepoys. The consequences of loss of caste are so feared,—and are in reality of so trying a nature,—that upon this point the sensitiveness of the Sepoy is always extreme, and his suspicions are easily aroused ... But they are under a double rule, of religious and of military discipline, and if the two come into conflict, the latter is likely to give way.

The officer in command at Barrackpore, General Hearsey, addressed the troops on parade, explained to them that the cartridges were not prepared with the obnoxious materials supposed, and set forth the groundlessness of their suspicions ... The address was well received at first, but had no permanent effect. The ill-feeling spread to other troops and other stations. The government seems to have taken no measure of precaution in view of the impending trouble ... On the 26th of February, the 19th regiment, then stationed at Berhampore, refused to receive the cartridges that were

served out, and were prevented from open violence only by the presence of a superior English force. After great delay, it was determined that this regiment should be disbanded. The authorities were not even yet alarmed; they were uneasy, but even their uneasiness does not seem to have been shared by the majority of the English residents in India. It was not until the 3rd of April that the sentence passed upon the 19th regiment was executed. The affair was dallied with, and inefficiency and dilatoriness prevailed everywhere.

But meanwhile the disaffection was spreading. The order for confining the use of the new cartridges to the Europeans seems to have been looked upon by the native regiments as a confirmation of their suspicions with regard to them. The more daring and evil-disposed of the soldiers stimulated the alarm, and roused the prejudices of their more timid and unreasoning companions. No general plan of revolt seems to have been formed, but the materials of discontent were gradually being concentrated; the inflammable spirits of the Sepoys were ready to burst into a blaze. Strong and judicious measures, promptly put into action, might even now have allayed the excitement and dissipated the danger. But the imbecile commander-in-chief was enjoying himself and shirking care in the mountains; and Lord Canning and his advisers at Calcutta seem to have preferred to allow the troops to take the initiative in their own way. Generally throughout Northern India the common routine of affairs went on at the different stations, and the ill-feeling and insubordination among the Sepoys scarcely disturbed the established quiet and monotony of Anglo-Indian life. But the storm was rising ...

It was not until the 8th of June that an English force appeared before the walls of Delhi. For four weeks the mutineers had been left in undisturbed possession of the city, a possession which was of incalculable advantage to them by adding to their moral strength the prestige of a name which has always been associated with the sceptre of

Indian empire. The masters of Delhi are the masters not only of a city, but of a deeply rooted tradition of supremacy. The delay had told. Almost every day in the latter half of May was marked by a new mutiny in different military stations, widely separated from each other, throughout the North-Western Provinces and Bengal. The tidings of the possession of Delhi by the mutineers stimulated the daring madness of regiments that had been touched by disaffection. Some mutinied from mere panic, some from bitterness of hate. Some fled away quietly with their arms, to join the force that had now swelled to an army in the city of the Great Moghul; some repeated the atrocities of Meerut, and set up a separate standard of revolt, to which all the disaffected and all the worst characters of the district flocked, to gratify their lust for revenge of real or fancied wrongs, or their baser passions for plunder and unmeaning cruelty. The malignity of a subtle, acute, semi-civilized race, unrestrained by law or by moral feeling, broke out in its most frightful forms. Cowardice possessed of strength never wreaked more horrible sufferings upon its victims, and the bloody and barbarous annals of Indian history show no more bloody and barbarous page.

The course of English life in those stations where the worst cruelties and the bitterest sufferings have been inflicted on the unhappy Europeans has been for a long time so peaceful and undisturbed, it has gone on for the most part in such pleasant and easy quiet and with such absolute security, that the agony of sudden alarm and unwarned violence has added its bitterness to the overwhelming horror. It is not as in border settlements, where the inhabitants choose their lot knowing that they are exposed to the incursions of savage enemies,—but it is as if on a night in one of the most peaceful of long-settled towns, troops of men, with a sort of civilization that renders their attack worse than that of savages, should be let loose to work their worst will of lust and cruelty. The details are too recent, too horrible, and as yet too broken and irregular, to be recounted here...

[Note: It is earnestly to be hoped that the officers in command of the British force will not yield to the savage suggestions and incitements of the English press, with regard to the fate of Delhi. The tone of feeling which has been shown in many quarters in England has been utterly disgraceful. Indiscriminate cruelty and brutality are no fitting vengeance for the Hindoo and Mahemotan barbarities. The sack of Delhi and the massacre of its people would bring the English conquerors down to the level of the conquered. Great sins cry out for great punishments,—but let the punishment fall on the guilty, and not involve the innocent. The strength of English rule in India must be in her justice, in her severity,—but not in the force and irresistible violence of her passions. To destroy the city would be to destroy one of the great ornaments of her empire,—to murder the people would be to commence the new period of her rule with a revolting crime.] ...

The revolt overcome, the last great danger menacing English security in India will have disappeared. England will have learnt much from the trials she has had to pass through, and that essential changes will take place within a few years in the constitution of the Indian government there can be no doubt. But it is to be remembered that for the past thirty years, English rule in India has been, with all its defects, an enlightened and beneficent rule. The crimes with which it has been charged, the crimes of which it has been guilty, are small in amount, compared with the good it has effected. Moreover, they are not the result of inherent vices in the system of government, so much as of the character of exceptional individuals employed to carry out that system, and of the native character itself.—But on these points we do not propose now to enter.

If the close of this revolt be not stained with retaliating cruelties, if English soldiers remember mercy, then the whole history of this time will be a proud addition to the annals of England. For though it will display the incompetence and the folly of her governments, it will show

how these were remedied by the energy and spirit of individuals; it will tell of the daring and gallantry of her men, of their patient endurance, of their undaunted courage,—and it will tell, too, with a voice full of tears, of the sorrows, and of the brave and tender hearts, and of the unshaken religious faith supporting them to the end, of the women who died in the hands of their enemies. The names of Havelock and Lawrence will be reckoned in the list of England's worthies, and the story of the garrison of Cawnpore will be treasured up forever among England's saddest and most touching memories.

NEWS ITEM **in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 28 March 1858:**

The movements of the Nana Sahib still occasion much anxiety. He had a strong body of cavalry, twenty five thousand sepoys, besides an armed rabble.

NEWS ITEM **in *St Louis Christian Advocate*, 29 October 1857, p. 3:**

The Sultan of Turkey has just sent a contribution of £1000 to the London Fund for the relief of the sufferers of the Indian Mutiny. This is remarkable since the Sultan is the head of the Mahometan religion, and that Mahometans are supposed to be the instigators of the mutiny.

'The Old World', *St Louis Christian Advocate*, 1 October 1857, p. 2:

American views of the Indian affairs seem quite sympathetic with England. Yet it is almost unexpected ... If England prevails, and she will, such are the plans of cultivation, the

opening of roads and the development of districts, that the production of cotton, if not of sugar, must soon be very great, enough to shake the American monopoly of cotton ...

Ample proof continues to come that the Christian religion is not in the least responsible for the mutiny. It is due to the annexation of Oude ... Oude was the last sovereign Moslem state. The fiery Mahometan uses the pliable Sepoy as a tool ... The Missionary Societies are arranging to multiply missions, and when the mutiny is put down, to urge all means to spread the Gospel in that hapless land.

COMMENT **in the *Princeton Review*, 30, 1 (1858), pp. 27–52:**

A few months ago the Hindu Sepoys were almost unknown to many of the members of our churches; but God has employed them, and overruled their awful crimes, to call forth an extraordinary interest in the Missions of our Church in India. Those missions were all in the provinces that have been desolated by this revolt. They were larger in extent than the missions of sister Churches. They were the first missions in those regions that were formed on a somewhat extended scale. They have been marked by signal providences from the beginning. They have received the special seal of the approval of God in the work of the Holy Spirit in souls converted, sanctified, and received into glory; in converts still living, some of whom have been tried, and have kept the faith in the midst of awful perils; and in the grace given to our missionary brethren in the terrible scenes through which God has called them to pass. We call to mind the noble testimony of Mrs. Freeman, one of our Christian sisters, as one worthy of the best age of the martyrs; and we trust it was the feeling of all the missionaries of our Church. In immediate sight of appalling danger, she was enabled to write these ever memorable words: 'Our little church and ourselves will be the first attacked; but we are in God's hands, and we know that he reigns. We have

no place to flee to for shelter, but under the cover of his wings, and there we are safe. Not but he may suffer our bodies to be slain; and if he does, we know he has wise reasons for it. I sometimes think our deaths may do more good than we could do in all our lives; if so, his will be done. Should I be called to lay down my life, do not grieve, dear sisters, that I came here; for most joyfully will I die for him who laid down his life for me.' God be praised for this testimony! Let the same spirit pervade not only the missionary body, but the churches at home, and these missions, restored and enlarged, will become like fountains of living water in a desert land. Our English brethren have under consideration the proposal to erect Memorial Churches at Delhi and Cawnpore, and all Christians in every land will sympathize with the object. We could fervently wish to see also a Memorial Mission Station founded by our Church at Bithoor. It would be a memorial of our beloved brethren, a witness to the forgiving and benevolent spirit of our religion, and a sacred means of making known its blessings to them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death.

'The Present State of India', *The Princeton Review*, 30, 3 (1858), pp. 452–533:

The great event of this generation is the revolt in India. The standing of Great Britain among the nations; the destiny of the millions of India; and the progress of Christianity in the East, are all involved in the issue. The sympathies of the Christian world must be with the English in this momentous conflict. Not only are they our brethren in the flesh and in the faith, but it is patent to all men that the outbreak in India is the rising of the powers of darkness against the kingdom of light. It is heathenism against Christianity. It is Belial against Christ. It is Satan against God. This is the essential nature of the conflict, whatever collateral or subordinate issues may be involved. There would have been

no revolt, or it would have assumed an entirely different character, were it not for the deadly hostility of the people to Christianity; and the triumph of the rebels would be the triumph of heathenism and the suppression of the gospel ... we do not mean to say that the East India Company is a Christian institution, or that its government has been conducted on Christian principles. All we mean is that the English rulers in India being Protestant Christians, they are of necessity the representatives of Christianity in the eyes of the people. Their presence gives facilities for the open inculcation of the gospel, and the progress and consolidation of their power must inevitably secure the progress of Christianity, and the consequent downfall of Mohammedanism and Hinduism ...The fatal error of the East India Company, its condemning sin, has been that they ignored their religion. They thought they could govern as neutrals in religion ...

A great distinction is to be made between the East India Company and the English in India. The former has, to a great degree, ignored their religion, while multitudes of the latter have been devoted Christians; and through them it is that Christianity, with its disturbing light, has been brought to bear on the powers of darkness ... In ascribing a religious origin to this revolt we, of course, do not deny the existence or reality of other causes ...

Even the government's policy, not to say anything of their Christianity, has conceded far too much to the pride of caste. The sepoy, far from thanking them, has simply accepted their concession as the reluctant homage of fear, and has risen in his own conceit of himself proportionally. The nature of Christianity is such that without the sword, and often without the word even, merely by its silent influence, it proselytes and propagandizes; and where it fails to do this, it arouses opposition and hatred ... If the government think the preaching of Christianity dangerous, then they must abandon all schemes for improving and elevating the natives, enlarging their minds and acquainting

them with European literature and history; for such advance in knowledge must have the effect of making them discontented with their old absurd religion, and introducing them to the evidences and moral fruits of another. Whilst, therefore, the Indian government are not called upon to preach the gospel, let them not pander to a vile idolatry; let them cease to bow down in the house of Dagon; let them not be ashamed of the religion they profess; let them now hear the rod, and Him who hath appointed it; let them give God the glory, lest a worse thing befall them than even THE MUTINY OF 1857!

—(Emphasis in original)

'Curious Cause for Mutiny', *St Louis Christian Advocate*, 20 August 1857, p. 4:

The Mutiny among the Indian troops of the British Indian regiments is said to have been caused by using pork and bullock fat, instead of mutton suet to grease the cartridges of their guns. The religious feelings of the natives is either Mohammedan or Hindoo. The first could not stand the pork abomination, and the last held the bullock as sacred. The fanaticism of the troops being roused, it could not easily be quelled again.

News Item in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 22 October 1857, p. 4:

The passengers report that Nana Saheb had resolved never to fall into the hands of the English. He has a bodyguard who are engaged to deprive him of his life should he be likely to be taken prisoner.

A.H. Guernsey, 'The English in India', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 25, 149 (1862), pp. 685–91:

If Macaulay had carried out the magnificent programme of his 'History of England', no chapters would have been as valuable as those which would have told 'How in Asia British adventurers founded an empire not less splendid and more durable than that of Alexander.' If these chapters had been written with the truthfulness of the famous article upon Warren Hastings, they would have presented a picture of cruelty and rapacity to which the history of the world can show no parallel.

British India now comprises a territory of nearly 1,200,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 160,000,000, exclusive of certain native states nominally independent, whose rulers are said to be 'assisted', but who are really controlled by British 'Residents', all of which are liable at any moment to be formally seized by the British. Including these, the subjects of the British Government in India number 200,000,000. In area and population British India somewhat exceeds all Europe, leaving out Russia and Sweden.

The acquisition of this immense territory has occupied just a century. The first important seizure took place in 1757, when a tract as large as the State of Delaware was surrendered by the Nabob of Bengal; the last was in 1856, when Oude was seized ...

'Annexation' was only one of the means for spoliation of native rulers. When the occasion for this was wanting it was easy to find another pretext ...

Lord Dalhousie's conduct toward Mohammed Shah, the King of Delhi, was intensely galling to every native of India. He was the representative of the mighty Mogul Emperors, and though deprived of all power except in the city and environs of Delhi, he was still prayed for as Emperor in every mosque in India. The Company even affected to treat him as the titular sovereign of the country, the Governor-

General formally addressing him as a superior, and the captain of the English guards only entering his presence barefoot. Meanwhile the subsidy which had been guaranteed to him was reduced until it was insufficient for the maintenance of the royal family. Within the palace walls were 5000 persons, of whom 3000 were of the blood royal. The Calcutta Government, in its treatment of the 'Sullateen', as the young princes were called, seems to have taken pattern by the course of the French Revolutionary Convention toward the son of Louis XVI. They were hedged in with restrictions, forbidden to enter the army or the public service, shut up in the palace, and consigned to a life of sloth and inaction. Their ignorance and sensuality was a by-word with the English. Finally, upon the death of the heir-apparent Lord Dalhousie recommended that the 'the House of Timur should be suppressed whenever the old King should die'. The seizure of Oude, in 1856, completed the long list of English conquests in India. The only pretext for this assumption was that the King of Oude governed badly. From the slopes of the Himalaya Mountains, 1800 miles south to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus, 1900 miles east to the Irrawaddy, the whole vast peninsula had been conquered. Two hundred millions of people—fully one-sixth of the human race—were subjected; a larger number than were ever before, with the single exception of the Chinese empire, brought under one government. Yet while these great conquests were being made, all England rung with denunciations of American rapacity and lust for territory.

The system of government to which so many millions were subjected was even in theory the worst that ever existed out of Dahomey. Bad as it was in theory it was worse in practice. It was administered mainly by inexperienced youths, ignorant of the language and institutions of the conquered people. They were sent out by their relatives, who had the good fortune to be Directors of the Company, in order to make their fortunes as soon as

possible, while they secured dividends to the Company. Between these two incentives to extortion, ignorance and cupidity, the poor natives were ground to powder, as between the upper and the nether millstone. The governors appointed by the Crown were powerless for good. The practical exercise of power was in the hands of the servants of a soulless corporation on the opposite side of the globe, whose predominant feeling was contempt for the people over whom they were placed. Two hundred millions of human beings were under the absolute control of hardly one hundred thousand strangers in race and religion.

Yet no general apprehensions of revolt were felt. Lord Dalhousie resolved to reduce his new acquisitions—the Punjaub and Oude—to the same abject condition to which Bombay and Madras had been brought. The experiment was first tried in the Punjaub. Picked men, invested with extraordinary powers, were sent there. Among these were the two Lawrences, John and Henry. The latter—perhaps the best man ever sent to India—soon abandoned his work in disgust, leaving a province where people were liable to be hanged upon no better authority than an open note from an assistant-commissioner to a deputy, expressing an opinion that they were guilty. John Lawrence, the stern civilian, had no such scruples. He carried out the policy which had been marked out with unflinching severity. It was resolved to introduce the same system into Oude. Titles to all landed property were adjudicated by men wholly incompetent for the task. The chief commissioner, Jackson, drove the royal family from their palace and took possession of it himself; ladies and children of noble families, who had never before been seen outside of the zenana, were driven to beg their bread by night in the streets of Lucknow. Yet the Company coolly congratulated itself that Oude had been thoroughly subjugated 'without the expenditure of a drop of blood, and almost without a murmur'. No matter how deep the curses might be, they were not loud enough to be heard at Calcutta or London.

At the close of 1856 all India seemed reduced to abject and uncomplaining submission. The noblest families, with honors traceable for centuries, were despoiled and humiliated; the peasants were reduced, by the system of land-taxation, to one mass of struggling poverty; great famines were of regular recurrence; the taxes were yet gathered, by bodily torture if necessary. There seemed to be no limits to the atrocities of the authorities or the endurance of the people. The bare idea of a revolt of the native troops was scouted. Individual cases of vengeance might now and then occur; but the idea of anything like a great uprising was as absurd as to suppose a general insurrection among the beasts of burden.

So, perhaps, it might have been had the conquerors abstained from touching the one sensitive point of caste. No one but a Hindoo can appreciate what is involved in this word. To him to lose caste is to be outlawed in this life, and to be cursed in all lives to come throughout eternity. In Lower India the recruits generally belonged to the inferior castes. In Bengal they belonged mainly to the higher castes, among whom the usages of the Hindoo religion were most sedulously guarded. More than once the Government had touched this one sensitive point, but had taken timely warning and refrained. But now, grown bold by success, they thought they might ignore this last concession to Hindoo feeling. It had been resolved to introduce the Enfield rifle into the native service. This involves the use of greased cartridges, the ends of which must be bitten off by the soldier. Now among the means by which caste is forfeited one of the most notable is the tasting of animal fat.

The greased cartridges were furnished by contractors, and the sepoys believed that the fat of cows and swine was employed in their manufacture. Every sepoy who used one of these was thus liable to all the horrors implied in the loss of caste. The whole difficulty might have been obviated by allowing them to prepare their own cartridges with vegetable oils or butter. Some of the wiser officers urged that this

should be done; but General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, who was enjoying the cool breezes of Simla, having a good time in hunting, replied that no concession should be made to the 'beastly prejudices of the natives'. He afterward rescinded his decision; but it was too late; the great Indian mutiny had broken out, and the whole Bengal army had disbanded or was in open revolt.

We can note only a few points in the history of this mutiny. The first movement took place on February 26, 1857, at Berhampoor. The 19th native infantry refused to receive the suspected ammunition, and were disbanded. The first great outbreak was at Meerut, 32 miles from Delhi, early in May. A cavalry company was ordered to use the ammunition. Five consented, and 85 refused. They were tried by court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced to work in the chain-gangs. Major Harriott, the Judge Advocate, would listen to no defense. He wrote to a friend that night: 'The court is over and these fellows have got ten years apiece. You will hear of no more mutinies.' He proved a false prophet. Before the end of June the troops in 22 cantonments had risen; in nine of them the revolt was accompanied by the slaughter of women and children. Whether there had been any previous plot, or whether it was an unpremeditated rising, is even yet a matter of doubt. The balance of evidence appears to be against the theory of a conspiracy. It is probable that the flame spread from regiment to regiment, as fire runs along a lighted match.

One episode in this fearful story stands out prominent from all the others. This is the massacre at Cawnpoor. Nana Sahib, the Maharajah of Bithoor, had some claims against the English Government, and had sent Azim Ollah to England as his agent to advocate them. He was received as a lion in fashionable society in London, but failed in his mission. He returned to India burning with rage against the English.

When the troops at Cawnpoor mutinied, Nana was placed at their head. Nine hundred persons, of whom seven

hundred and fifty were Europeans, more than two hundred being women and children, were besieged in an intrenched camp near the city. After a siege in which the besieged suffered the extremities of hunger and thirst they capitulated, under promise of being safely conducted to Allahabad. The men were placed in boats, where they were massacred almost to a man, only four escaping. The women were conveyed to Cawnpoor. Here Azim Ollah persuaded Nana to massacre them all, on the ground that if they were carried off they would be rescued by their countrymen who were rapidly advancing; if they were left alive at Cawnpoor, their testimony would implicate some of their captors who might otherwise escape identification. They were all hewn to pieces in cool blood, and their remains were flung into a dry well. The floor of the room in which they were slaughtered was found next day by the English troops who had come up, ankle-deep in blood.

The report of this atrocious massacre was received with horror by Hindoos as well as Europeans. The Begum of Oude and other native leaders declared that it had brought a curse upon their cause. Nana was denounced by all, and thereafter was only heard of as fleeing from place to place to escape the doom which was his due.

In his place appeared Tantia Topee as leader. This man manifested generalship of a higher order than was ever shown by any other Hindoo. For months he baffled the ablest English commanders. His movements were compared to forked lightning. He passed before, behind, and among the British columns; traversed mountains, valleys, and swamps, for weeks together at the rate of forty miles a day.

Fearful as were the outrages at Cawnpoor and elsewhere, they were aggravated in the reports sent to England. It was said that the women, before their massacre, were subjected to outrage worse than death. But the most searching inquiry has established the fact that no such indignity was perpetrated in a single case. Hundreds of women were indeed murdered; but death was the utmost which they suffered.

How this great mutiny was put down the world knows. But it does not know that the atrocities perpetrated by the insurgents pale before those committed by the conquerors. General Neill, who was left at Cawnpoor by Havelock, shall describe his system. He says:

'Whenever a rebel is caught he is immediately tried, and unless he can prove a defense, he is sentenced to be hanged at once; but the chief rebels or ringleaders I make first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep in the shed where the fearful murder and mutilation of the women and children took place. To touch blood is abhorrent to the high-caste natives; they think by doing so they doom their souls to perdition. Let them think so. The first I caught was a Subahdar, or native officer, a high-caste Brahmin, who tried to resist my order to clean up the very blood he had helped to shed; but I made the Provost-marshal do his duty, and a few lashes made the miscreant accomplish his task. When done, he was taken out and immediately hanged, and after death buried in a ditch at the roadside.'

Tantia Topee was at length captured when asleep in the jungle by a native who had turned traitor. No charge of any atrocities, we believe, was ever made against him. He was tried by court-martial and hanged. The Ranee Lakshmi Bye, who had taken the vow of vengeance, proved herself one of the ablest leaders of the natives. At last she shut herself up in her strong fort at Jhansi. It was taken by storm; five thousand natives were slain. Men killed their wives and children to prevent them from falling into the hands of the victors, and then leaped into the wells. The executions after the capture were numerous; among those put to death was the father of the Ranee. She herself escaped, but was in a few days surprised in camp. She sprung upon a horse, but received a shot in the side and a sabre cut on the head; still she rode on until she dropped dead from her horse. Sir Hugh Rose declared that in her the rebels had lost their best military leader.

The poor old King of Delhi had been set up against his will as the nominal head of the rebellion. When the mutiny broke out at Delhi he had written to Agra giving the first tidings, and declaring that he was powerless in the hands of the sepoys. After the storming of Delhi he withdrew to a strong fortress nearby which was held by 3000 troops. Here he surrendered, with his Queen, under promise of personal safety, to a company of 100 British soldiers. These were commanded by Captain Hodson, a brutal trooper, famous for his eagerness for plunder. Others of the family of the King were captured here, among whom were two young princes. As these were conveyed to Delhi a crowd gathered around. Hodson, pretending to fear an attempt at rescue, shot the princes with his own hand, having first made them strip off their splendid garments in order that they should not be injured. Seven other of the princes of Delhi were captured, but escaped for a time; but most of them were taken and hung, and their bodies flung into the river. Sir Robert Montgomery, afterward Commissioner in Oude, wrote to Hodson, congratulating him on the capture of the King and the slaying of his sons; adding, 'I hope you will bag many more.' The old King and his Queen were imprisoned in a dirty chamber over an archway in their own palace, where they were exposed to the constant intrusion of the Europeans. He was brought to trial. In vain he pleaded that he was powerless against the mutineers, and that he and the Queen had repeatedly periled their lives in attempting to save those of the English. He was condemned as a 'false traitor to the British Government, and an accessory to the massacre in the palace'. The severest punishment consistent with the letter of the promise of safety under which he had given himself up was inflicted upon him. He, with his Queen, and two princes, one a mere child, were sent to an inland fortress in Burmah. The trial of the King of Delhi was conducted by the same Harriot who boasted that the Meerut mutineers had got their ten years apiece, and that there would be no more mutinies. He

died not long after at Southampton, where he had just landed on his return from India. He had $150,000 in his portfolio, and bequeathed half a million dollars to his nephew—the spoils which he had accumulated in India.

These individual severities were but parts of a general system. Prisoners were blown from the cannon's mouth or hanged with scarcely the formality of a trial. It seemed as though the only system of dealing with the natives was that of village-burning and hanging ...

The authorities at Calcutta could not even procure lists of the numbers and crimes of the slaughtered multitudes. Vengeance fell especially upon the sepoys as a class. Whole regiments which had not even mutinied were exterminated. Thus the 26th Native Infantry ran away in a panic at seeing their major killed by a fanatic. The fugitives were pursued for forty miles; many were drowned on coming to a river which they were too much exhausted by fatigue and hunger to be able to swim. Some hundreds surrendered, and were hacked to pieces in squads of eight or ten; 45 were suffocated in a bastion, into which they were thrust without food or water; and their dead bodies were flung into a dry well—a fitting pendant, it was said, to the well at Cawnpoor. Sir Robert Montgomery, the same who hoped Hodson would 'bag' more of the Delhi princes, congratulated his subordinate upon this extermination of a thousand men; adding, 'Three other regiments were very shaky here yesterday; but I hardly think they will go now. I wish they would, as they are a nuisance, and not a man would escape if they do.' At Delhi, the civilians who had returned after the capture began to inflict capital punishment with an indiscriminate fury which shocked even the stern Sir John Lawrence, who issued an order 'putting a stop to civilians hanging from their own will and pleasure'.

Yet the laws which were passed were, it would seem, stringent enough to prevent all necessity for unlicensed hanging. By an Act of May 30, any persons guilty of rebellion or waging war against the Queen or Government

were rendered liable to the punishment of death, with the forfeiture of all their property; the crime of harboring rebels was made heavily punishable. Government might appoint commissioners to act singly, who were vested with absolute and final powers of judgment and execution, without the presence of law officers or assessors; and the possession of arms in any district in which it might be prohibited by the Executive Government was made penal. A week later an Act was passed punishing by death and confiscation of property all persons convicted of exciting mutiny or sedition; giving to courts-martial the power to try all persons, whether amenable or not to the articles of war; empowering the Government to issue commissions to single commissioners, with full powers of judgment and execution, to try all these offenses.

English statesmen and writers have inveighed loudly against the rebellion and confiscation Acts passed by our Government, which are nevertheless mild in character and guarded in execution compared with those passed by the English only five years ago. By these powers were conferred upon any one of an indefinite number of single commissioners far greater than those which we have granted to the regular courts of justice and the National Executive. The Special Commissioners appointed under these laws executed their functions in so sanguinary a manner that General Outram was forced to recommend that tribunals should be created for the trial of sepoys who should surrender, and had not been guilty of murder ...

When the great mutiny had been fairly put down, and full vengeance exacted, the English Government awoke to the necessity of putting the affairs of India upon a different footing. The same storm which drove Mohammed Shah from his palace also swept away the political power which had so long been abused by the East India Company. The Company had deposed the King of Oude because he had misgoverned his eight millions of subjects. Parliament deposed the Company because it had misgoverned its two hundred

millions. While the palace at Delhi was given over to pillage, the East India House in London was put up at public auction and sold for the value of its site and materials. So passed away in a day the mighty power of the Honorable Masters, which had been so shamefully abused, and India was formally annexed to the English crown.

That many abuses have been remedied by the new Government is undoubted. But it requires no gift of prophecy to say that the government of one-sixth of the human family by a few men from the opposite side of the globe must come to an end. How soon no man can say. It can only be maintained by fear. The natives can have no affection for their masters. They are foreigners and invaders, aliens in blood, language, manners, and religion; and whenever an opportunity arrives for shaking off the hated dominion the attempt will be made; the next time, it may be presumed, under happier auspices than the last. Whenever Great Britain finds herself at war with a great power she may be sure that India will be the main point of attack. The seeds of revolt must always be ready to germinate. A French or American fleet upon the coast, or a Russian army from Cabool, would be the signal of an uprising. The time for vengeance has long been delayed, and may be still longer put off ...

'The mill of the gods grinds slowly, but it grinds fine.' The Oriental races hold vengeance as a flint holds fire—unseen and unnoted; but the fire is there, and it needs only the right blow to bring it to view. There are hands enough in the world able and willing to strike that blow when occasion serves.

COMMENT in *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, 15 January 1858, p. 2:

With a universal recognition of England's right over India to all that men can hold dear—life, liberty, property, the word of vengeance is upon every lip and the curse deep

down every heart. That every man, woman and child recoils at the bloody and savage atrocities of the Hindoo, none can deny; that every Sepoy should pay with his own life the penalty of that law that forbids murder, we agree; that every cruelty shall be repaid by the butcherer [sic], we will not object; but that our press—the American press—should sanction the equally bloody butchery of the English upon the Hindoo ... is monstrous, and no more humane than the sepoy, down to whose equal they bring themselves by sanctioning in one party the inhumanism and savagery they condemn in the other.

'The Hindoo Mutiny and the American Rebellion', *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 8 February 1865, p. 2:

Another of the series of lectures in the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian church was delivered by the Revd. Hy Martyn Scudder, D.D.

Dr Scudder's long residence in India enabled to thoroughly grasp the subject ... The Hindoo Mutiny was a caste insurrection—born of the Brahmins, stuffed with pride as a roasted apple is with juice ... The Brahmin sepoys thought that the English Government were about to destroy their caste, and to take away their Idol Juggernauth. They were mistaken; the Government proposed no such thing. Caste is an endemic disease in India, and government were infected with it. The Hindoos attempted to enthrone their caste in the land. They despised England and resolved to make their idol supreme ... The Hindoo outrage was marked by outrage—by falsehoods spread far and wide ... The mutiny passed from an outrage of words to an outrage of deeds. Dr Scudder here gave a vivid description of the horrible massacre of Cawnpore. Two inches of human blood stood in that slaughter house when Havelock and his little band of avengers entered it.

'Nena Sahib', *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 23 October 1874:

History, romance, drama and poetry have all contributed to throw around Nena Sahib an immortality of infamy ... The massacre of men, women and children surrendered to Nena at Cawnpore has few parallels in atrocity ... It is now sixteen years since Nena Sahib appeared as a political factor in the ever troubled politics of British India ... His cruelty was the offspring of despair [the report refers to his being disinherited—Ed.]. After the great Sepoy mutiny he disappeared from sight; and lived a wanderer in the land his fathers had ruled. He was a man of great ability for an Indian, but had a Clive represented England in his day, Nena would not have continued the struggle a year.

The news comes today of his capture, and the event raises the question: what will England do with him? Hang him, we suppose. The shudder caused by his atrocities has not yet subsided in England; and the policy of terror adopted by England, during her war with this ruthless man, is still believed to be the only policy she can successfully adopt with Indian mutineers. It was Clive's policy. It was Wellesley's policy. It was England's policy in our day. Whatever the wrongs of Nena Sahib, however great the injustice done him, that is now forgotten, and his atrocities alone are remembered. If he be executed, 'Serve him Right', will be the verdict all the world over.

Thomas W. Knox, 'The English in India', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 58, 346 (1879), pp. 568–75:

It is a notorious fact that the expense of British rule in India is something enormous, and forms a crushing incubus on the country. The population is roughly estimated at a hundred and ninety millions, and the average taxation last

year in various ways amounted to three and three-fourth shillings (English) per head ...

I think there can be no question that there is great hostility to the British authority, and if the way were open to a revolt, with a promise of success, it would be speedily forthcoming.

CANON GEORGE RAWLINSON,[4] 'The Position of England in the East', *The Princeton Review*, 2 (1880), pp. 1–23:

What is there in the circumstances of India, and of the British position there, to set against the disruptive forces above enumerated, and so far forth to neutralize them that, hitherto at any rate, there has been but one attempt made to shake off the British yoke, and that attempt a brief and thoroughly abortive one? In the first place, there is the great and patent fact of the ethnic and religious diversities which sever the native population of India into distinct sections, intensely jealous of each other, and under ordinary circumstances more mutually hostile than averse to a dominion which presses on all alike. The Hindoos hate the Mohammedans; the Mohammedans reciprocate the feeling, if not with an equality of bitterness, yet with a hatred which contains a large element of contempt. The Sikhs regard Mohammedan and Hindoo with nearly equal dislike, but their aversion to the former is tinged with fear, and is therefore somewhat more intense. The Dravidian 'Hill Tribes' cherish an especial hostility towards the Hindoos; the Parsees despise all, but particularly abominate the Mohammedans. Only in a very rare and peculiar combination of circumstances would it be likely that even any two sections of the population would be induced to combine in an effort to bring British rule to an end; and then the other sections might be relied upon to take the opposite course. When the

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[4]An English reverend.

strange myth of the 'greased cartridges' united the two main races—the Mohammedans and the Hindoos—against us, the Sikh population immediately rallied to our side, and was ready to furnish whatever number of men was required to put down the mutiny.

E.J. Humphrey, 'Glimpses of Heathendom', *Ladies' Repository*, 25, 7 (1865), pp. 413–16:

In the Indian mutiny of 1857 the Ranee—that is, Queen of Jhansie was one of the most obstinate and enterprising opponents with which the English power had to contend. The Sepoys were famous in those days for running away whenever they came within range of English rifles; but the Ranee of Jhansie would have none of that. When a division of English troops was sent to retake her capital, she advanced her forces quite over the river near Jhansie to meet them. When her troops were all over and drawn up in battle array she ordered the bridge to be burned. 'Now,' said she, 'you must face the foe, there is to be no running away.' They fought with desperation, and she, with most of her followers, was slain.

'The Course of Empire in British India', *The United States Democratic Review*, 40, 2 (1857), pp. 177–81:

The Indian empire of Great Britain began with the establishment of a few trading posts at the mouths of the Ganges. Mutual bad faith leading to frequent quarrels between the occupants and owners of these factories and the Indian sovereigns, a series of wars, with variable fortune, ended in the acquisition of a large territory by the East India Company, assisted by the home Government.

The hostility of the Mohammedan emperors and chiefs, no ways abated by the rivalry of this new power, led to the gradual building up of a demi-empire, called British India,

an aggregate of subjugated chiefs and governors who were allowed their dominions, laws, and customs, for the most part, as the reward of unconditional subjection to the will of the conqueror.

Such a system could have but one object, the extortion of money. British rule in India is not, and never has been, a missionary enterprise; the East India Company have devoted their revenues to the subjugation, and not to the education of the natives. Nor have the factories of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras been made the foci of a colonial system, like that of Australia or Canada. Immigration has been discouraged, and the present white population of Indostan consists only of the servants and officers of the Company, and a few others drawn thither by some connection with public or mercantile affairs. Nor was the conquest of India effected with a view to make provision for the younger sons and daughters of the Royal Family; princes of India have not been educated in London, and only one knighthood has been granted to a native Parsee. But the purposes of this conquest being neither to extend the name, religion, lineage, glory, nor princely dominion of the people of England, there remains but one motive for its continuance, and that is the extortion of money.

'The Sepoy Mutiny', *New Englander and Yale Review*, 17, 66 (May 1859), pp. 357–82:

The terrible outbreak of Sepoy vengeance in India, which threatened for a time the very existence of English authority, was marked by atrocities which have excited the horror of the whole civilized world. Would that we could throw over them the vail of oblivion! Previously peace smiled on mountain and valley and broad savannah throughout the peninsula. The East India Company were raising, on apparently secure foundations, a political structure which promised, some day, to rival those of the enlightened

nations of Europe. By slow degrees the Christian civilization of the West was leavening the debased myriads of Hindus. Colleges and universities, whose courses of study would compare favorably, in scope and tone, with those of Cambridge and Oxford, were established. The attendance at these was steadily increasing, and a most gratifying standard of scholarship obtained among the students. The English judicial polity was becoming better understood and appreciated, and many of the enlightened natives were satisfied that it was only through English rule, and the introduction of English customs, that the people could be raised from the slough of degradation, into which they were sunken. Political quiet gave a stronger sense of security to the government, for from the Himalayas to Cape Cormorin, from the Indus to the Burhampooter, there appeared not a rival to British dominion. But in a moment all these apparently fair prospects were destroyed. Troubles came from a quarter least expected. The whole foundation of the political fabric was found to be worthless; for when suddenly shaken by social disturbances, out-work after out-work went down, and the whole tottered on the brink of destruction ...

And now the great problem presents itself to British statesmen, how to build from these ruined heaps a government, which shall be so well adapted to the necessities of this vast and various people, that a recurrence of these disasters may be prevented ...

The government must be adapted equally to the luxurious sensuality of the Mussulman, the serpent-like cunning of the Hindu, and the rugged sternness of the Mahratta. Caste with its unnatural burdens must be regarded, and laws and customs, the most incongruous, respected. But it is not our purpose to detail the difficulties which beset the English at every step ... The history of the Sepoy mutiny is marked with some extraordinary phenomena. The vast extent of country overrun by it, and, considering the difficulty of communication, the rapidity with which it spread; the

unanimity manifested in engaging in it; the marked interpositions of Providence on behalf of the British; the hair breadth escapes from destruction, and the immense successes gained by mere handfuls of men, form, it is believed, a series of events unparalleled in the annals of warfare ... The belief has obtained very generally, and received the most powerful official support, that the revolt was a mere military mutiny with which the people had little or no sympathy ...

It is the aristocracy who have been immediately engaged in the conspiracy; Brahmins who are sacred in the eyes of the people, and Rajahs whose families have enjoyed wealth and rank for centuries. How natural then that their rule should be preferred and their leadership followed! They may have been avaricious and oppressive sometimes; but any people will cheerfully bear much injustice from a ruler of their own blood and kin, rather than enjoy freedom under a foreign dominion ...

We believe, then, that though in the Punjaub, inhabited by the Sikhs who are naturally hostile to the Hindus and would not join them while the English held a shadow of power, the people remained quiet, in other and more extensive territories, they were hand and glove with the rebels ...

The position has also been taken by the English ministry, that the mutiny was an unpremeditated outburst of passion, increased and spread by fortuitous circumstances. The evidence presented below, if worthy of credit and it never has been impugned, seems conclusive proof that there was a plot coextensive with the Bengal Presidency, which aimed at nothing less than the annihilation of the British power in India ...

We conclude that this [the issue of religion and caste—Ed.] was not the magazine, nor the train, but the torch which lighted the train, not the cause but the occasion of the rebellion ... We propose, in the second place, to discuss the condition of the army. And as here the disease first

manifested itself, so here are found its germs; for a laxity of discipline had crept into the ranks, amounting almost to disorganization...

While they must now be made to feel that no effort can shake off the control of the English, every lawful endeavour should be made to spread a Christianized intelligence and civilization among them. For to England is committed most emphatically the task of lifting up this degraded people, of pouring the light of truth into those benighted heathen minds, and of preparing India, now crushed and downtrodden, to rise and take her stand among the free and enlightened nations of the earth, a proud monument of saved humanity.

'The Rebellion in India', *The North American Review*, 86, 179 (1858), pp. 487–515:

The British empire in India has been shaken to its centre; nor is it yet out of danger. Often enough, it is true, we read glowing accounts of 'brilliant successes' on the part of the British—'great victories' gained over the Sepoys. Time after time we have been told that the rebellion has been crushed, and that all that remains to be done on the part of the rulers of India is to adopt suitable measures for the prevention of future mutinies. When the press of India, English as well as native, was shackled by the Governor-General, statements of this kind were to have been expected. It was clearly the intention of 'His Excellency in Council', when he thus declared free discussion a crime, that the truth should not be told. It would be idle to pretend, and credulous to believe, that the English journals in Hindostan would excite the Hindoos to rebellion, and encourage them to attempt the expulsion of the British. Of course no such absurd fear was entertained. The real apprehension was that they would let Europe and the civilized world know the facts, and,

above all, the causes, not only of the war, but also of the intense and deadly hatred of the insurgents to all foreigners who speak the English language ...

It is much wiser for England to talk about general amnesties than general executions. There have been quite enough of the latter. Moreover, threats of vengeance will no longer divert public attention from what the people of India suffered before the rebellion; indeed, they should have had no such effect from the beginning. But it is always well for those who would gain sympathy to make loud complaints, showing how wantonly and barbarously they have been assailed. The outrages at Cawnpore, revolting as they were in themselves, have been turned to good account in this way. Ever since they became generally known, England has been looked upon as the injured party, while the Hindoos have been regarded as no better than a race of demons. Few have paused to inquire what were the circumstances of the case; or what provocations the Sepoys, or the Hindoo people, had received, to prompt them to such deeds. Still fewer have recognized the position of England as that of a robber; while the Hindoos were the parties robbed. In this view, the question arises, Are robbers to be treated like ordinary people? Is it sufficient to talk to them, or to throw tufts of grass at them, as the farmer at the apple-stealing boy in the fable? When they become formidable, and are daily committing greater and greater depredations, setting their victims at defiance, are they still entitled to be treated according to the laws of civilized warfare? In short, who, on finding a robber breaking into his house—the same burglar who perhaps had often despoiled him before, and who, he knows, is as ready to take his life as his money—who, in a case of this kind, will be very scrupulous as to the means by which he tries to rid himself of the intruder, and to let his accomplices see that it is better for them to follow some honest business? It is, indeed, unutterably sad that innocent women and children should have been butchered as they were at Cawnpore; but their blood, after all, is on the heads

of their own countrymen, who by their systematic oppression and cruelty had excited intense and deadly hatred against all who speak their language. This is undoubtedly the light in which the future historian must view the whole matter.

Joseph Massari in *Rivista Contemporanea* (Italian), July 1857, quoted in Liliana Dalle Nogare, 'Echoes of 1857 in Italy':

Far too many people, confusing race and geography, will imagine that the Indian rebellion is a bid for independence and an indication of the aspiration to form an Indian nation. But those who can think and are familiar with the real state of affairs will not fall into such gross blunder. The sepoy rebellion is purely an act of military sedition, kindled by the religious fanaticism of the Brahmins: the desire for independence and liberty has got nothing to do with it.

—(Nogare, 1986: 325)

***Italia del Popolo* (Italian), 8 July 1857, quoted in Liliana Dalle Nogare, 'Echoes of 1857 in Italy':**

England seems to have no other thought than that of India, so much has she been touched to the quick by the rebellion. Her system of liberty at home and slavery abroad led to the loss of her best provinces in America in the last century, and now, let us see, what happens in India. She will probably be able to pacify and quench in blood this first great attempt at emancipation. What will become of England without India?

—(Nogare, 1986: 326)

La Ragione **(Italian) 15 August 1857, quoted in Liliana Dalle Nogare, 'Echoes of 1857 in Italy':**

The oppressed have learned how to approach and how to scald the oppressors. We greet with joy the day when India will be freed from the rule of the 'most free' England.

—(Nogare, 1986: 329)

KARL MARX, 'The Indian Revolt', *The New York Daily Tribune*, 16 September 1857, pp. 152–55:

The outrages committed by the people of India are indeed appalling, hideous, ineffable—such as one is prepared to meet only in wars of insurrection, of nationalities, of races, and above all, of religion ... However infamous the conduct of the sepoys, it is only the reflex, in a concentrated form, of England's own conduct in India, not only during the epoch of the foundation of her Eastern Empire, but even during the last ten years of a long-settled rule. To characterize that rule, it suffices to say that torture formed an organic institution of its financial policy. There is something in human history like retribution; and it is a rule of historical retribution that its instrument be forged not by the offended, but by the offender himself ...

The Indian revolt does not commence with the ryots, tortured, dishonoured and stripped naked by the British, but with the sepoys, clad, fed, petted, fatted and pampered by them ...

Even at the present catastrophe it would be an unmitigated mistake to suppose that all the cruelty is on the side of the sepoys, and all the milk of human kindness flows on the side of the English. The letters of the British officers are redolent of malignity ...

And then it should not be forgotten that, while the cruelties of the English are related as acts of martial vigour,

told simply, rapidly, without dwelling on disgusting details, the outrages of the natives, shocking as they are, are still deliberately exaggerated ...

KARL MARX, *The New York Daily Tribune*, 13 October 1857:

As to the object of the war, it is beyond doubt the maintenance of English rule in India. To attain that object, Delhi was a point of no strategic significance at all ... If, instead of forming their military plans according to the native prejudices, the English had left Delhi alone and isolated it, they would have divested it of its fancied influence ...

FREDERICK ENGELS, 'Details of the Attack on Lucknow', *The New York Daily Tribune*, 25 May 1858:

This [the looting that followed the relief of Lucknow] is indeed a pretty state of things in a civilized army in the nineteenth century; and if any other troop in the world had committed one-tenth of these excesses, how would the indignant British press brand them with infamy! But these are the deeds of the British army, and therefore we are told that such things are but the normal consequences of war. British officers and gentlemen are perfectly welcome to appropriate to themselves any silver spoons, jeweled bracelets, and other little memorials they may find about the scene of their glory; and if Campbell is compelled to disarm his own army in the midst of war, in order to stop wholesale robbery and violence, there may have been military reasons for the step ...

The fact is, there is no army in Europe or America with so much brutality as the British. Plundering, violence, massacre—things that everywhere else are strictly and

completely banished—are a time-honoured privilege, a vested right of the British soldier ... For twelve days and nights there was no British army at Lucknow—nothing but a lawless, drunken brutal rabble, dissolved into bands of robbers, far more lawless, violent and greedy than the sepoys who had just been driven out of the place. The sack of Lucknow in 1858 will remain an everlasting disgrace to the British military service.

Frederick Engels, 'The Revolt in India', *The New York Daily Tribune*, 1 October 1858:

Still, for the present, the British have reconquered India. The great rebellion, stirred up by the mutiny of the Bengal army, is indeed, it appears, dying out. But this second conquest has not increased England's hold upon the mind of the Indian people. The cruelty of the retribution dealt out by the British troops, goaded on by exaggerated and false reports of the atrocities attributed to the natives, and the attempt at confiscating the Kingdom of Oude, both wholesale and retail, have not created any particular fondness for the victors. On the contrary, they themselves confess that among both Hindoos and Mussulmans, the hereditary hatred against the Christian intruder is more fierce than ever. Impotent as this hatred may be at present, it is not without its significance and importance, while that menacing cloud is resting over the Sikh Punjaub. And this is not all. The two great Asiatic powers, England and Russia, have by this time got hold of one point between Siberia and India, where Russian and English interests must come into direct collision. That point is Pekin. Thence westward a line will ere long be drawn across the breadth of the Asiatic Continent, on which this collision of rival interests will constantly take place. Thus the time may indeed not be so very distant when 'the Sepoy and the Cossack will meet in the plains of the Oxus', and if that meeting is to take place, the anti-British passions of

150,000 native Indians will be a matter of serious consideration.

CHARLES FOURNIAN, 'Contemporary French Press', quoting *Le Siecle* (French), 17 September 1857:

It is unfortunately confirmed that a frightful carnage followed the capture of Delhi ... We do not hesitate to brand these acts of barbarism which cannot be justified by any of the crimes of the Sepoys.

—(Fournian, 1986: 314)

CHARLES FOURNIAN, 'Contemporary French Press', quoting *L'Estaffette* (French), 29 August 1857:

If the English persist in their cruel oppressive policy, the Great Powers, and France above all, will have to intervene to see that the Indians are not slaughtered as though they were a vile herd. ... Does India remain a colony under the detestable English domination? No, the English have made of it an immense prison, strewn with gallows and gibbets.

—(Fournian, 1986: 314)

CHARLES FOURNIAN, 'Contemporary French Press', quoting *Journal des Debates* (French):

The question is not to find out whether all the Indians are more or less civilized, more or less united but to establish whether the last insurrection had been provoked by the excesses of the agents of the Company or whether this revolt is truly national.

—(Fournian, 1986: 316)

CHARLES FOURNIAN, 'Contemporary French Press', quoting *L'Estaffette*, 31 August 1857:

However cruel may have been the conduct of the sepoys, it is only the reflection in a concentrated form of the cruelty of the English for the greater part of the century.... Once and for all, speak no more to us of the cruelties committed by the insurgents. Their cruelties are the fatal denouncement of the lamentable drama in which the English name up to this day, played the premier role.

—(Fournian, 1986: 319-20)

NIKOLAI DOBROLYUBOV, *The Indian National Uprising of 1857*:

In addition to the monetary interests, the East-India dominions are also extremely important to England as a convenient place for finding jobs for the young scions of notable families. Because of the right primogeniture these persons cannot be accommodated anywhere in England. Without position and without importance, earlier, they usually joined spiritual ranks of a clergy, to build a career for themselves; now their career is assured in East-India....

All these advantages to the British state and the people fully explain the persistence with which England has, for a whole century, been trying to hold on in the Indian peninsula. But this is nothing. The happenings here cannot provide an analogy for the future because so far the British sovereignty in Hindustan has all along been shaky, and is not yet fully and stably established. Only lately have the British freed themselves from the need for subduing the independent lands around them. Till recently they were in an agitated state, which was expressed by one their own statesmen in

following words: 'We cannot stop here; we must constantly expand our dominions. One moment of stopping, and everything will be lost.' This policy, necessarily of conquest, was very ruinous for the Company; the compensation, however, for all the unusual expenses is still to be expected in future. Now England has her natural boundaries on the peninsula, and the continuance of the policy of conquest is no longer necessary for her. After the present uprising is subdued, she would probably renew her work concerning internal improvements in the country which she has lately been taking up there.

These improvements relate mostly to social structures and other such areas for the betterment of means of communication and productive forces of the country. The British have now for a long time been facing criticism for neglecting this aspect. Warren wrote in 1843: 'In the smallest of departments in France more public works are now done in half a year, than what is done in the British India in a whole year. The Company has not dug up here even a single pond; has not built a single canal, or constructed a single bridge for the benefit of their Indian subjects; has not laid down any roads excepts those needed for the marching of troops...' With all its sharpness, this censure is essentially right; the whole attention of the Company has really been directed only to methods of establishing itself in the country, and any concern for this country has been deferred or ignored far too indefinitely. Now the times have changed; and, together with that, the very nature of the Company's operations in Indian peninsula has also undergone a change.

The amount earmarked for public works in India in 1851-1852 was only 7 million pounds sterling, almost double of that given during the preceding five years. The works since taken in hand have not been completed, and go on consuming one-and-half to two million pounds sterling every year. In 1854, a loan of 22 million pounds sterling was made available for public works. These sums were directed mainly towards the construction of communication

links and making of canals. Nearly a thousand miles of broad road which, over the stretch of 1,423 miles from Calcutta to Peshawar, passes through Delhi, Karnal, Ludhiana and Lahore, have been completed in 1854. Another road planned—1,170 miles—is that from Calcutta to Bombay, and still another—234 miles—from Bombay to Agra. The works of canalization are intended mainly for irrigation which the Indian lands are in great need of. It is estimated that, during the dry summer months, the six rivers (Ganga, Chenab, Yamuna, Sutlej, Ravi and Jhelum), having their source in the high Himalayas can yield 24,000 cubic feet of water per second for the irrigation of lands ... The work of canalization has already been started for this water system. Such works are being undertaken also in application to other water systems. Railway and telegraph lines are being installed in all the three presidencies; these already cover about 3,000 miles. All this shows that the material needs of India are now not too utterly neglected by the British government.

The same is the case with moral and mental needs. Lately, the officials in the Company's civil service have been of better calibre than before, and they also include natives selected on the basis of an examination which the British candidates too have to take. Good standards are ensured by payment of good salaries not only to senior but also to junior officials ... Amongst the officials at the second level, in the year 1849-1850, for instance, there were natives drawing a salary of 100 to 1,200 pounds sterling ...

On the whole the actions of the British government in India, specially for past some time, display signs of enlightened humanism. Together with religious and national forbearance, the government has also shown respect for liberty of views by placing no restrictions on book printing in India. The only cases where the government always issued prohibitive orders, were the ones which were outrageous to mankind—for instance, human sacrifice, burning of widows etc. It has made easier the relations of

the higher castes with lower, having established the equality of all before the law. As a precaution against the abuse of courts, it has set up auxiliary courts for more efficient collection of taxes, and has taken other measures, as, for example, switching over to cadastral system.

And, in spite of all this, the Indian has risen, risen in a frenzy of hatred, and has with his fury made even the indifferent England shudder at the very time when this England had started showing active concern for the welfare of his country. This strange reaction, set in quite untimely, has already given rise to many diverse explanations. Some people consider religious fanaticism responsible for the whole thing; others put the blame entirely on misconduct of British officials. Some see the reasons in the fact that Indian newspapers were permitted to publish articles on the shortcomings of the British administration. While all such things may, of course, also serve as a factor, these cannot in any way become the reasons for the uprisings ... The *Times* attributes the whole thing to the very course of civilization in India, and there is a considerable grain of truth in its comments ... 'For persons well acquainted with India,' it was stated in the *Times* a couple of months back, 'this aimless, unplanned, dreary uprising of millions of people, who are under our rule, particularly the troops, is not at all an unexpected phenomenon ...'

But the British are still continuing to make concessions to the phantom of former despotism. Because of the shortage of their population, this is their vital element in India. Exactly such concessions were regularly made by the British in all their actions concerning India up to the end of the last century. They relied for their administration on the higher castes, completely despising the lower. They passed over whole communities to the control of the zamindars, and delegated vast powers to all somewhat important officials. Already in the beginning of the present century, as testified by Heber, the natives of the higher classes 'decorated their houses with Corinth columns and furniture of English

make, and had the best horses, best carriages of Calcutta; they spoke English freely, and were well versed in literature'. It is clear, they had the resources for flouting an expensive exterior of European civilization. Nonetheless, the common people remain suffering from the extremely high tax, which consumes all their earnings. They live in mud houses, and instead of proper dress wear some sort of cloth on the body; they subsist simply on grain or flour, diluted in cold water and often ungarnished even with salt.

However, it must be admitted that establishing herself in India, England further dislodged the native despotism, taking its place and gearing it to her own system of administration. But here too the things done were neither quite successful nor rational. Though rejecting the absurd arbitrary character and ruthlessness of Asiatic despotism, the English Company did not at the same time want to deprive itself of its advantages; it wanted only that people should give voluntarily out of an awareness of their debt, what was hitherto extracted from them by force. But since essentially no such debt was ever there, people were happy to be freed from it; and, seeing the formal annulment of their previous obligations, did not in fact wish to fulfil them any more. From the very beginning, therefore, the British government generated in the people a conflict between their rights and the actual state of affairs. An Indian was still conscious of his relationship with the native rulers; but he could not in any way satisfactorily explain his relations with the British. With all his religious and political traditions and convictions, these obligations in respect of a despised tribe did not in any way come to his head. The British therefore soon realized that for sustaining their advantages it was necessary *de facto* again to resort to the system of despotism. And this is exactly what they did: they gave unrestricted power to the governor general—even the rights of life and death, the right of promulgating laws for India. This measure, by which all the administration of the vast country got concentrated into a few hands, was, of course, to the best

advantage of the government, but to the people it was reminiscent of the period of the Great Mughals. True, the persons appointed to the posts of governors general were almost always men of distinguished intellect and noble idea; but their very position regularly made them take actions which were ruinous to the people. Vested with both military and civil powers, obliged by the responsibility almost for a definite amount of revenue, the governor general alone had to be everywhere; he had to look after everything, see to the interests of the state without burdening the people too much. Naturally, he always sacrificed the people for the state and their profits in India are completely conflicting; the state seeks here to collect as much as possible, but the people wish to pay as little as possible ... Placed very high, vested with supreme administration, the governor general, of course, did not know the people, did not understand their need, and it cost him nothing to adopt measures which could lead millions of people to despair. This is what happened at Benares, when, on the issue of tax on houses, three hundred thousand persons decided to lodge strong protest against the action of the government by staging *dharna*. In such a *dharna* a man sits on the ground, immobile, and stops taking food, until the person against whom this is done agrees to rectify his action. The entire population decided to take part in this protest by such a peaceful method, and would have starved itself to death if the governor general had not revoked the tax.

Introducing its own system of administration, the British government devised its tax system too in its own spirit. Without bothering for the rural Indian community, it turned to zamindars and ryots, the petty landowners. In the Calcutta presidency, the zamindars were given the right to collect land tax—forty-five percent for the government and 15 percent for self. The farmer, accordingly, was left with 40 percent of the gross income; but since one-third of the gross income was usually taken up by the expenses of production, it was only seven percent that was left out. The plight of the

farmer was appalling, and was made further worse because of the destruction of community structure; all duties for long borne by the community were annulled, and tax was fixed for ever one individually, just like the portion of land. The result was that there were hardships in payment,—such as were never there before. The ryots refused to cultivate the land, and wandered about as poor persons. The zamindars expelled them from the land and did not find workers. In any case, the zamindars too had to pay their share to the government; in the event of failure the company had a very simple solution: it sold away the estate of the not-well-to-do debtor by public auction. The total land so sold in three years' time in accordance with the regulations of the new system, came to one-third of the whole of Bengal. The most important property fell into the hands of some Calcutta speculators; the lands became the subject of adjudicature ... Of course, ultimately, it was the productive class of the population, viz., the ryot, that bore the brunt of all this.

In Madras too, the rural community was ruined and, in place of its officials mediating between it and the government, a British collector was directly appointed along with his assistants and agents. In a few years the result was the same, although here the total tax was 55 percent (45 percent actual tax, and 10 percent for the administrative expenses), and the farmer was thus left with five percent more (compared with the Calcutta presidency). The farmers individually were certainly not in a position to pay by themselves what was being paid without particular hardships under the community structure. Every year concessions had to be made in favour of the ryots and arrears waived off. ... It must, however, be observed that there was one more reason for this extreme burden of tax in Madras: the agents of the collector, getting very meager salary, used to their advantage the positions in which they were placed as intermediaries between the ryots and the collector.

The structure of the civil service and specially of the judicial system in India also shows how absurdly the

European civilization was applied to the needs of the people and how their vital welfare was sacrificed for the sake of the structure of the state administration. Earlier, an Indian was within the community, vocally and openly. The process was short, because there was nothing to be tried for, and the trial cannot be unjust before people who know us well: here the decision could be short and easy. But the British, relying fully on the observation of the higher Indian classes, came to the decision that the Indians, with their profligacy and saleability, could not be good judges and that it was necessary to set up British open courts with British paraphernalia and judicial structures.

The natives were however most aggrieved on the setting up of a Supreme Court in Calcutta. The accused, often several hundreds of miles away, had to be present in the Court, and was straightaway sent to jail if he disobeyed the summons, which, of course, happened almost always, specially in the case of the poor people. In the investigations then started, the judges, quite unaware of the matter and the circumstances of the accused, tried to administer justice according to their own notions, and this incidentally almost never satisfied the Indians. Besides, the proceedings were often initiated for trifles or with evil intentions; for instance, when a debtor was called to the Calcutta port from a distance of two hundred miles, on the complaint of his creditor, it was found that the debt was fictitious, and the debtor had been called to distract him from the evidence which he had to give in a local court.

The best British institutions thus got distorted and corrupted in everything on the Indian soil. The character of the people, whom long year of slavery had made accustomed to slyness, deception, disregard of their own dignity, was an insurmountable barrier in the way of introducing enlightened institutions. The way the freedom of book printing was used here primarily and most of all by the Brahmins for printing pamphlets against the Christians, and the way the open courts were used by rich usurers with purchased

witnesses, shows that certain well meaning urges of the British just served only to heighten the sufferings of the people than to improve their condition. The character of the people had to be and could be changed; only this had to be done in a different manner. In any case, the ultimate aim of England was, however, not the work of civilizing but covetousness—both private and state. Administration of the country from a distance, succession of despotism, concern more for revenues and income than for the welfare of the people (which is particularly shown by the opium trade), preference for the higher castes over the productive class of people, incapacity of being concerned with the needs of the people—all these things, naturally, weighed heavily on the Indian population and constantly aroused their indignation. Added to this was, of course, the wickedness of the officials; but they by themselves could not have had much significance. For, in that case, the people in India would have been dissatisfied only with the officials; their hatred would not have gone beyond that. And now the people have risen because they have at last discerned evil in the very structure of the British rule.

But, then, why did the people, having remained silent for so long, having submissively tolerated the most terrible and outrageous actions of the unscrupulous rulers, having submissively surrendered to the rule of the despised Europeans, having calmly given all their property and achievements to the unacknowledged rights of a foreign people, suddenly decide to rise at the very time when their rulers had started seriously thinking of their material and mental well being?

—(Dobrolyubov, 1988 [1858]: 62–65, 67-68, 72–77, 80-81)

INDIAN RESPONSES

Indian responses, recorded in songs, folk tales and other documents, were also considerably varied. Most, however, acknowledged that Britain had been unfair in its system of governance, and in its behaviour towards the natives. Songs record the bravery of local princes and kings, the warriors and the victims.

Others analyse the 'revolt' and locate causes. Syed Ahmad Khan, for instance, in his sustained analysis of the 'rebellion' explores multiple dimensions of British rule—politics, administration and religion. Many documents recording Indian responses pay attention to the issue of cartridges and the state of the army.

William Crooke, 'Songs about the King of Oudh', *Indian Antiquary*, 40 (1911), pp. 61–67, 91-92:

I. *The Departure of Wajid Ali Shah from Calcutta*
Repeated by Kaliku Prasad, Headmaster of the village school at Akbarpur, District Fyzabad, Recorded by Pandit Ram Gharib Chaube.

O Sripati Maharaj (Ram), thou art the remover of calamity.
When will my Lord return to his country?
The first halt was Cawnpore: the second at Benares.

The third halt was at Calcutta, and the Queens fled to the hills.

Bullets were flying in the Alam Bagh: there were cannons in the Machchi-bhawan

Swords were drawn in the Bailey Guard: it was dark with arrows.

Outside mourned the sepoys: in the gateway mourned the Kotwal.

In the palace mourned the Queens, and let their long locks fall disheveled.

The cannons were left in the magazine: the elephants were left in the stables.

The swift horses were left in the city: our friends forgot their sympathy.

The Queens wept in the Kaisar Bagh, and let their long locks fall.

Saith Raghunath Junwar: 'It was the pleasure (Ram) that we should be in exile.'

II. *The Flight of Wajid Ali Shah*

Sung by Saligran Kayasth

Recorded by Lalta Prasad, a master in Amarpur Village School, District Itawa.

Without thee, my Lord, the country has become silent.
My Lord, thou wert very happy; what dost thou think?
'They have turned into the very dust the Kaisar Bagh that
I made.'
My Lord went to Calcutta and we had hope.
Some of the Queens left the country in carriages.
The great English came and took the country.
No one raised any fight or rebellion.
Some took to living in the forests and woods.

III. *Wajid Ali Shah and the Kaisar Bagh*

A song in honour of the Kaisar Bagh of Lucknow and the late King of Oudh, Wajid Ali Shah. Recorded by Pandit Ram Gharib Chaube.

Wajid Ali Shah built the Kaisar Bagh, but did not enjoy it.

1
On all sides turrets of gold and in the middle a throne were placed.
An English force came and settled and assumed the authority.
What a Kaisar Bagh Wajid Ali built, but did not enjoy it.

2
Noble and peasant all wept together, and all the world wept and wailed.
Alas! The chief has bidden adieu to his country and gone abroad.
What a Kaisar Bagh Wajid Ali built, but did not enjoy it.

3
Clothed in red, the king put on the guise of a mendicant.
Clothed in red, his followers put on the guise of mendicants.
O, *my Lord built the Kaisar Bagh, but did not enjoy it.*

IV. *The Departure of the Bahu Begum to England in appeal*
Songs in Honour of the Bahu Begum
Recorded by Ram Gharib Chaube

1
Going to London, thou art no daughter-in-law
May God bring thee back! May the Lieutenant and Prophet (of God; Muhammad) bring thee back!
The Turkish horseman have become foot, and the sepoys complain in the streets.
The elephants and horses have been sold, and the camels put to auction.
Going to London, thou art no daughter-in-law.

2
Of what kind is that country?
By whose hand may I send a letter? By whose hand my news?
Shall I send my letter by the crows? My news by the birds?
Going to London, thou art no daughter-in-law.

3

I long to see thee.
O Englishman, there is thy market where diamonds and rubies are sold.
The clever have sold their merchandise: the fools and clodhoppers have been left.
Going to London, thou art no daughter-in-law.

V. *The Settlement of Oudh*

Sung by Girdhari Das Chaube of Chandrapur, District Agra.
Recorded by Ram Gharib Chaube.

1

When the English took the city of Lucknow,
They sent Wajid Ali, who had been king, to Calcutta.
He took the princes and queens with him,
And the great Queen (Victoria) gave him a pension.
By their prestige the English took the country of Oudh,
And all the chiefs acknowledged their supremacy through fear.

2

There was such disorder in the king's house,
That the country was devastated and no one took notice.
When the English saw that such anarchy was reigning,
The Queen's Deputy (the Viceroy) entered the city (of Lucknow).
By their prestige the English took the country of Oudh,
And all the chiefs laid down their arms through fear.

3

The English first commenced to rule in the year 63.
The rebellion was in the year 65.
The English came back again in the year 66.
Birjisqadar, the Queen, fled to Nepal.
By their prestige the English took the country of Oudh,
And all the chiefs laid down their arms through fear.

4
When the English were Bailey Guard,
There were no suppliers, and there was only the mercy of God.
And the white men were full of fight;
They were dying of hunger and thirst, but did not run away.
By their prestige the English took the country of Oudh,
And all the chiefs laid down their arms through fear.

5
When the English pursued the army,
The rebel scoundrels sprung their mines on the guns,
They hid themselves as best they could from place to place.
The white men cut off their heads wherever they found them.

6
Sword and bullet and bayonet was used;
Hundreds were wounded when the mines were fired.
The earth trembled at the noise of it,
And the babes fell from the wombs of pregnant women.

7
What kind of bravery did Birjisqadar, the Queen, show?
Her name has remained in the world.
Who now will ever show such courage?
When the Queen had fled what fight was possible?

8
When the Rana Sahib fought the white men,
The scoundrels fled to the North,
Jagraj Singh followed up the white men well,
He killed them one by one and threw them into the stream.

9
The Rana Beni Madhav was a very strong man.
He wanted a fight and stood ready for it.
The steel of the Baisas of Baiswara is hard.
Now it fell to him to face the English.

10
Then the English counseled together:—
'Let us join with the Rana and take the Country of Oudh.
All the other chiefs of the Country of Oudh are unreliable.
If these come in then there will soon be fear.'

11
When Raja Man Singh joined the English,
Then Lal Madhav began to fear:—
'The scoundrels have taken refuse in Karbala.'
Then the English soon surrounded him.

12
Then the Raja thought in his mind that
It would be well to escape with honor.
He took his armies on the northern road.
He gave up his kingdom and went to the Begum.

13
In the end all the chiefs lost their heads.
They saw that all the people were faithless to the house of
the King of Oudh.
'When will the English be unfaithful?'
And so all the chiefs presented themselves through fear.

14
The first arrangement (of the English), was the rough survey
(of the country)
They made twelve Districts and four Commissionerships.
In the Kingdom of Oudh there is one Judicial
Commissionership,
For the purpose of appeal this is the last Court.

15
After that they fixed the boundaries, village by village.
They stopped all the quarrels over uncertain boundaries.
They began to measure (the land) with iron chains.
They divided the cultivable from the uncultivable land.

16
When all the papers (for the land) were in order,
Then they managed for the yearly settlement (of revenue).
They sent summons to every name.
And advertised for every claim.

17
They fixed a period of twelve years
And instead of the year 63 they wrote 51.
Decrees were granted for possession within the period.
If possessions was not proved, applications were rejected.

18
In every District four departments were set up:—
Revenue, Judicial, Criminal and Settlement (of Revenue).
Then they arranged for the army.
This is the story as it has been committed to writing.

No. II

In Praise of the English

Sung and Recorded by Kishor Singh, a boy in the Village School at Kotila, District Agra

O Englishman, may thy Rule for ever flourish.
Thou didst bring in the rupee with the face on it.
O Englishman, may thy Rule etc.
Thou didst run the railway train on the roads.
O Englishman, may thy Rule etc.
Thou didst raise up the voice of the steam (lit. smoke).
O Englishman, may thy Rule etc.
Thou didst introduce the flowered calicoes.
O Englishman, may thy Rule etc.

No. III

The Agra Waterworks

Sung by Kishan Lal, a boy in the Village School at Ruknuta, District Agra, Recorded by the Master of the School

O European, thou didst open good waterworks (pipes).
Thou didst fetch the pipes from Calcutta and laid them down in Maithan,
In Rajamandi, in the Lohemandi, in Gokalpura,
O European, thou didst open, etc.
Thou didst place a ticket on each door and took every name.
O European, thou didst open, etc.
Thou didst lift the wheelbarrows, and strike the ground with spades turned upside down.
O European, thou didst open, etc.
Thou didst make tanks and ponds and threw balls into them.
Thou didst fetch water from the Jamna canals and set up double engines.
O European, thou didst open, etc.

No. IV

The Railway Train

Sung and Recorded by Chakkan Lal of Chandrapur, District Agra

The lordly English have started the train; it comes and goes in the twinkle of the eye.
Quickly to Delhi, quickly to Agra, quickly to Bharatpur it goes.
Eating no corn, drinking water, by the force of steam (smoke) it goes.
It goes on no plain road, on rods of iron it goes.
In front the engines, behind the cars: '*bhak*, *bhak*' they go.
Bungle sounding, whistle making, flag showing, it goes.
On red flag halting, on green flag starting, it goes.
The lordly English have started the train: it comes and it goes in the twinkle of the eye.

ANONYMOUS, *The Mutinies and the People*, quoting report in the *Englishman*, 15 July 1857:

The Rajah of Keroula has issued a proclamation, warning his subjects, under penalty of death, not to join or assist the rebels, but to fight with fidelity under European officers, whenever they may be called upon to do.

—(Anonymous, 1969 [1859]: 24-25)

Published in the *Englishman*, 20 November 1857, pp. 37-38:

I the undersigned Rajah of Wunurputty, beg most respectfully to approach your Lordship with this humble address ...

With the deepest anxiety and horror have I heard and read of the barbarous and atrocious deeds of the Bengal Presidency; and their cold-blooded and deliberate proceedings are of such a nature as to stamp them with infamy and brutality unknown in the histories of the most savage and uncivilized nations ... I am resolved to revenge the atrocities committed on the subjects of the Crown of England with an unsparing hand.

I beg to assure your Lordship in Council of my loyalty, affection and attachment to the British Government, to whose kind and paternal protection I owe my life, my liberty, my safety and my all, and it would be disloyal in me not to tender my services at this painful crisis to aid in quelling the disturbances and in destroying and dispelling the mutineers ...

I am resolved and prepared to start and join the English Army before Delhi ... I am well aware that my presence will unquestionably inspire the men with valour and confidence not easily to be shaken or intimidated ...

SYED AHMAD KHAN, ***An Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt*:**

As regards the Rebellion of 1857, the fact is that for a long period, many grievances had been rankling in the hearts of the people. In course of time, a vast store of explosive material had been collected. It wanted but the application of a match to light it, and that match was applied by the Mutinous army.

In the course of the year 1858, and almost simultaneously with the outbreak, chappaties were passed from hand to hand in many districts. Cholera happened at that time to be raging in Hindustan. Some have imagined that these chappaties were used as a kind of talisman to keep off the cholera ... The fact is that even at the present day we do not know what caused the distribution of those chappaties ... The manner in which the rebellion spread, first here, then there, now breaking out in this place and now in that, is alone good proof that there existed no wide-spread conspiracy.

Nor is there the slightest for thinking that the rebels in Hindustan received any aid from Russia or from Persia ...

Nor do I believe that the annexation of Oudh was the cause of this rebellion. No doubt, men of all classes were irritated at its annexation, all agreed in thinking that the Honourable East India Company had acted in defiance if its treaties, and in contempt of the word which it had pledged ... Of this, however, more hereafter. But what I mean here is that the men who would be most irritated and dismayed at such a step were the noblemen, and independent princes of Hindustan. These all saw that sooner or later such a policy must lead to the overthrow of their own independence and confiscation of their own lands ... The mutineers were for the most part men who had nothing to lose, the governed not the governing class ...

So too we must reject the idea that the natives of this country rose of one accord to throw off the yoke of

foreigners, whom they hated and detested. The English did not obtain the Government of Hindustan in a day. By little and little they have spread their authority ... They have long been accustomed to hear of the good faith, the clemency, the consideration, and the high moral character of those by whom it had been conducted. Hindu and Mussulman, all who have been under English rule have been well content to sit under its shadow... All natives saw that some day the English sway would extend itself over the whole of Hindustan, and that all races and religions alike must sooner or later be held within the English grasp. And yet during those early years we hear of no attempt at revolt, no striving against English authority ... During the wars which commenced in 1839, there was not a single attempt at revolt in Hindustan, and yet for a hundred years Hindustan had been governed by the race from which sprang the Princes against whom those wars were conducted. It was to those Princes that the Mussulman owed their preference and influence in India. How then, can it be supposed that the present revolt originated from hatred on the part of the Mussulman against those who had wrenched the kingdom from them? ...

There are no grounds for supposing that the Muhammadans had for a long time been conspiring or plotting a simultaneous rise, or a religious crusade against the professors of a different faith. The English Government does not interfere with the Muhammadans in the practice of their religion ... But the greatest mischief lay in this that the people misunderstood the views and the intentions of Government. They misapprehended every act, and whatever law was passed was misconstrued by men who had no share in the framing of it, and hence no means of judging its spirit. At length the Hindustanees fell into the habit of thinking that all laws were passed with a view to degrade and ruin them, and to deprive them and their fellows of their religion ... At last came the time when all men looked upon the English Government as slow poison, a rope of sand, a treacherous flame of fire ...

If we look at these various causes separately and distinctly we shall, I think, find that they may be classed under five heads.

1. Ignorance on the part of the people; by which I mean misapprehension of the intentions of the government.

2. The passing of such laws and regulations and forms of procedure as jarred with the established customs and practice of Hindustan, and the introduction of such as were in themselves objectionable.

3. Ignorance on the part of the Government of the condition of the people; of their modes of thought and of life; and of the grievances through which their hearts were becoming estranged.

4. The neglect on the part of our rulers of such points as were essential to the good Government of Hindustan.

5. The bad management, and disaffection of the army...

They [the Sepoys] looked upon the European portion of the army as a myth and thought that the many victories which the English had gained were gained entirely by their prowess. A common saying of theirs was that they had enabled the English to conquer Hindustan from Burmah to Kabul ...

The people were perfectly aware that the Government were almost entirely dependent on the sepoy army; when, therefore, it became known that that army had revolted, the people also became riotous ...

There is no doubt that all persons, whether intelligent or ignorant, respectable or otherwise, believed that the Government was really and sincerely desirous of interfering with the religion and custom of the people, converting them all, whether Hindus or Mohammedans to Christianity, and forcing them to adopt European manners and habits. This was perhaps the most important of all causes of the rebellion...

Whilst all these discontents were at their height, there suddenly appeared in 1855 a letter by Mr Edmund, which was circulated publicly from Calcutta and a copy of which

was sent to all the principal officials of the Government. It was to the effect that all Hindustan was now under one rule, that the telegraph had so connected all parts of the country that they were as one; that the railroads brought them so near that all towns were as one; the time had clearly come when there should be but one faith; it was right, therefore, that we should all become Christians. It is no metaphor to say that men were blinded with fear at the receipt of this circular. The ground seemed at last to have given way beneath their feet. They cried out that the long-expected hour had indeed arrived. The servants of the Government were first to be made Christians and then the mass of the people. This circular, it was said, was written by order of Government ...

Some believed that the native soldiers were docile, obedient and loyal as long as his religious prejudices were respected; that he was driven to absolute frenzy by the slightest suspicion, whether well or ill grounded, of any interference with his creed or his observances; that he had been gradually rendered distrustful by the government policy of forbidding suttee and infanticide by the withholding of government contributions to Hindu temples and idol ceremonies by the authorities at Calcutta, subscribing to missionary societies, and lastly, by the affair of the greased cartridges; and that the sensibilities of Brahminism, thus vitally outraged, prepared the native mind for the belief that we designed to proceed by some stratagem or other to the utter and final abolition of caste.

—(Khan, 1873: 3–5, 7, 15, 51, 60)

WILLIAM CROOKE, 'Songs of the Mutiny', *Indian Antiquary*, 40 (1911), pp. 123-24, 165–69:

No. I

Meerut, 1857, Sung by the Gujar women of Sahdranpur

People got shawls, large and small; my love got a kerchief.

There is a great bazaar at Meerut; my love did not know to plunder.

People got dishes and cups; my love got a glass.
There is a great bazaar at Meerut, etc.
People got cocoanuts and dates; my love got an almond.
There is a great bazaar at Meerut, etc.
People got coins of gold; my love got a half-penny.
There is a great bazaar at Meerut, etc.

No. II

Fyzabad, 1857

Sung and recorded by Banda' Ali Sayyid of Unahi, District Faizabad.

The soldiers of the Rana raised trouble in Oudh, my Ram.
The Lord (Governor-General) sent a letter: 'Come and join us, Brother Rana.
I will get military honours from London and make you governor in Oudh.'
The Rana wrote an answer: 'Don't play with me.
As long as there's life in my body, I will dig you up and throw you away.'
All the zamindars met together and joined the English.
(So) first the Raja's clan was destroyed and secondly his fort was dug up.

No. IV

The Mutiny—1857

Sung during the Mutiny and repeated by Rameswar Dayal Misra of Kotara, District Itawa. Recorded by Raghunandan, a teacher in the school at Kotara.

The war began at Meerut in the year fourteen. Bombay,
Madras and Bengal are great Presidencies.
When the time of destruction came, the English lost their
heads. Kali wished to sink England.
The cartridges were of cow and pig's fat: when the soldiers
heard of it they threw off their uniforms.
Saith Dhawal Ram: 'In the year fourteen have the English
fled and deserted Calcutta.'

No. V

The Dirge of the Begums on the Banishment of Bahadur Shah of Delhi

Sung by Saligram Kayasth of Amarpur, District Itawa. Recorded by Lalta Prasad, a teacher in the school at Amarpur.

O, for what infidelity to my salt have I now been banished
from my country?
O, the people weep in the streets, the merchants weep in the
shops,
O, the Princesses sit weeping in the Palace, and the servants
weep at the door.
O, deserted is the meeting-place in the Women's Palace,
deserted is the Fancy Bazar.
O, gone all the walks in the Zamaniya Gardens, gone is the
whole country.
O, had I known of this, I would have gone to meet the Lord
(Governor-General)
O, I would have lamented, I would have fallen at his feet,
I would have got my country back.

No. VI

The Mutiny—1857

Sung by Rameswar Dayal Misra of Kotara, District Itawa. Recorded by Raghunandan, a teacher in the school at Kotara.

Well fought the brave one; O, the Rani of Jhansi.
The guns were placed in the towers, the heavenly (magic) balls were fired.
O, the Rani of Jhansi, well fought the brave one.
All the soldiers were fed with sweets; she herself had treacle and rice.
O, the Rani of Jhansi, well fought the brave one.
Leaving Morcha, she fled to the army; where she searched and found no water.
O, the Rani of Jhansi, well fought the brave one.

No. VII
Khudaganj (Fattehgarh), 1857

Sung by Shital Prasad Shukla of Mirzapur. Recorded by Ram Gharib Chaube.

1

They marched from Cawnpore and faced the enemy at Khudaganj.
They made entrechments all about them ; the white warriors fought well.

2

First came on the Dubai and made an attack (on the English).
Wing-bound (swift) horsemen came and behind them the Ghalla made a rush.

3

The Hindus cried 'Ram, Ram' and the Musalmans 'Allah, Allah,'
Fearless men fought in the field, and used all the force they could.

4

The sepoys fought in small parties, and turned not back.
Entrenching themselves all round, the white warriors fought well.

5
When the sides first met, sword was used and severe was
the fight.
The brave sepoys fought at Khudaganj, above the river.

6
The dauntless Dubai advanced and had no hesitation.
They struck at hands and breast and showed their skill with
weapons.

7
Time upon time the sepoys struck their blows.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

8
On their feet they wore boots, on their bodies, kilt.
Tassels of silk on the hats and trembling cigrettes.

9
The (British) braves entered the field like vast elephants.
With no fear of death they set the faces (lit. breasts) to the
front.

10
Round their waists, to the left, hung bags.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

11
The Europeans advanced quickly to the bank of the river.
One (rebel) trench only remained to be taken, and they
made their plans.

12
Cutting and cutting the (rebel) army was cut down: only
Juzabi the hero, remained
What shall I say in his praise? Well did he use his sword.

13
Cut down and cut down the brave men died, not disgracing
their names.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

14
Drums upon drums were beaten and bugles sounded as is the custom.
Garar-garar, gar-gar-gar-gar-gar was sounded with the sound of drums.

15
The intoxication of the drums was upon them, and filled their eyes.
They killed and killed, they feared not, the light (of fight) shone upon the heroes.

16
They struck with their bayonets and broke the breasts of the enemy.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

17
The Commander took his troop (cavalry) and went on to the bridge.
The white men fired their cannon and leveled it to the earth.

18
The Europeans are very wise and they conquered the enemy.
Making a double march, they entered Fattehgarh from the river.

19
The army were encamped on all the parade grounds, and the news of it was in the city.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

20
Messengers were sent in carriages, and horsemen came on horses.
'Let the Bangash Nawab know that the European army is in thousands.'

21

'The Galla and Dubai (forces) have been slain, and the balls
of their cannon are wonderful.
There is no way of escape but by crossing the Ganges.'

22

The Begums of the Nawab of Bareli secretly left him.
On all sides they made entrenchments; the white warriors
fought well.

23

The bankers of the city met the Lord (General) with
presents.
He stopped the plunder (of the city), and the money-
changers and all the city opened again (for business).

24

Saith Kalapati: on Manik Ram trembled the aigrette of the
chief?
The rule of the great English, whose is the conquering
sword.

—(Emphasis in the original)

ADAPTED FROM ANONYMOUS, ***The Mutinies and the People:***

Statements of Native Fidelity Exhibited During the Mutinies of 1857-58

Place	Person	Authority
Secunderabad	2nd Cavalry, Hyderabad contingent	*Madras Spectator*, 25 July 1858, quoted in Bengal *Hurkaru*, 11 August 1858
Gopalparah	Rajah of Gopalparah	*Hurkaru*, 27 June 1858
Mhow	Native Officer of 23rd Native Infantry	*Mofussilite*, 16 June, quoted in *Hurkaru*, 8 July 1858
Serampore and Calcutta	Gossains of Serampore and Babu Samachurn Mullick	*Hurkaru*, 8 July 1858
Cawnpore	Subadar, Cawnpore Regiment	*Bombay Times*, 10 July, quoted in *Hurkaru*, 22 July 1858
Sialkot	Tiluck Pandy	*Bombay Telegraph and Courier*, quoted in *Hurkaru*, 10 September 1858

—(Anonymous, 1859: 127–148)

ADAPTED FROM ANONYMOUS, ***The Mutinies and the People*:**

Names	Nature of Reward
Two Subadars	The title of Bahadur
Three Sepoys of Behar Station Guards	200 rupees each
Seikh Hidayat Ally	Rank of Subadar Bahadur, First Class Order of Merit
Ramperkas Singh	Present of 1000 rupees and a commendatory Perwannah
Jamadar Kasim Sahib, 1st Regiment Infantry, Nagpur Irregular Force	Promoted to 3rd Class Order Merit
Havildar Pirthee Singh, 31st Regiment Native Infantry	Rank of Subadar

—(Anonymous, 1859: 149–72)

P.C. JOSHI, *Rebellion 1857*, quoting a Gond prayer in the *Times*, 31 October 1857:

Shut the mouth of the slanderers and
Eat up the backbiters, trample down the sinners,
You, 'satrusamgharika'
Kill the British, exterminate them, Matchundee.
Let not the enemy escape, not the wives and children
Of such oh! Samgharika
Show favour to Shanker; support your slaves;
Listen to the cry of religion.
'Mathalka' eat up the unclean,

make no delay,
now devour them,
and that quickly,
Ghor-Mathalka

—(Joshi, 1986: 158)

MIRZA GHALIB, *Dastanubuy*:

Indians have left the skirts of the just rulers and have been caught in the net of beastly men. Do you not see the similarity between the protecting *daman* (skirt) and the enslaving *dam* (net), and between *dad* (justice) and *dad* (beast)? In truth one cannot perceive of justice under other auspices than those of the British. The whips of the Arabs left scars, but these were soothed by the graces of Islam. Harmony and peace came after the warfare and the afflictions of Iran were forgotten. If any good can come from this insurrection, then the subtle and discerning man who can see this good must explain it to me and so comfort my fearful heart. How strange it is that officers responsible for peace should rise in rebellion against their rulers, that soldiers should assassinate their leaders, and that neither should feel shame at these outrageous acts ... The invasion of Iran was neither as devastating nor as full of despair as is the rebellion in India ...

Gradually news flowed in from distant towns: the rebel soldiers had murdered the officers in their barracks and open rebellion had broken out. All through the country soldiers and landlords had joined forces and became as one body in a shameful lust that only waves of blood could satisfy. As the straws of a broom are tied up with one string so the multitude of rebels were bound together by a single cord. Such cataclysmic strokes swept India that, if one sought prosperity or peace, no single grass blade would be found. Some of the soldiers, although they had no leaders,

prepared themselves for battle by seizing guns, gunpowder and gunshot from the British. All the tactics they had learned they employed against their former teachers.

The heart is not stone or steel but will be moved. The eyes are not lifeless cracks in a wall but will shed tears at the panorama of death and at India's desolation. The city of Delhi was emptied of its rulers and peopled instead with creatures of the Lord who acknowledge no lord—as if it were a garden without a gardener, and full of fruitless trees.

The raiders threw off all restraint and the merchants ceased paying taxes. Houses were abandoned and the apartments were like free tables of booty to be plundered at will. In its shamelessness, the rabble, sword in hand, rallied to one group after another. And if peaceful, good people came into the bazaar they were made to acknowledge their defeat and humility before the lawless multitude. Throughout the day the rebels looted the city and at night slept in silken beds.

In the noblemen's house there is no oil for the lamps. In total darkness they must await the flash of lightning, and so find the glass and jug with which to quench their thirst ...

Noblemen and great scholars have fallen from power; and the lowly ones, who have never known wealth or honour, now have prestige and unlimited riches. One whose father wandered dust-stained through the streets now proclaims himself ruler of the wind. One whose mother borrowed from her neighbour fire with which to light her kitchen declares himself sovereign of fire. These are the men who hope to rule over fire and wind and we unhappy ones have no desires left but for moments of respite and a little justice.

> For you this is only a sorrowful story, but the pain is so
> Great that to hear it the stars will weep tears of blood.

The postal system is in utter chaos and service has virtually stopped. It is impossible for postmen to come and go: thus

letters can neither be sent nor received. However, through the telegraph system which operates by vibrations and not wires, messages can be sent.

Tell me, you who believe in law and justice, is there not cause for weeping and breast-beating in the complete breakdown of administration, the looting of god-given wealth, the chaos of the postal system and the failure of news as to the welfare of our relations and friends? In this anarchy brave men are afraid of their own shadows and soldiers rule over dervish and king alike. Is this not cause for grief? Do these heartbreaking events not merit our tears? None can ridicule our sorrowing, for to lament such wrongs is not unbelief or lack of faith.

> How can poetry soothe me now when my heart is
> burned
> With hot sighs? My heart fails, my limbs weaken
> and I
> Neither fear punishment nor do I crave reward.

The prisoner of loneliness, this afflicted Ghalib, now resumes his narrative grief. When these wayward, hostile rebels first entered Delhi, they brought treasure with them. This they deposited with the royal treasury and they bowed their heads on the royal threshold. Rebellious armies from various directions converged on Delhi and assembled here. When the emperor could no longer control this army, the army itself took control into its own hands and the king was rendered helpless.

> As the moon is eclipsed, so the army overshadowed
> the King. An eclipse cannot obscure the crescent
> moon, but only the full moon, but only the full
> moon of the fourteenth night. The King was a
> waning moon, yet his light was eclipsed.

Seeing the anger and fury, the townspeople turned pale. Hordes of men and women, commoners and noblemen, poured out of Delhi from the three gates and took shelter in small communities and tombs outside the city. There they

remained, hoping, at a later time, either to return to Delhi or to move on to another town.

In my heart I felt no dread nor did my legs tremble in fear. I said to myself that I am not a wrong-doer and I deserve no punishment, for the English do not kill the innocent. The atmosphere of Delhi was not unfavourable to me and I believed I should entertain no thought of escape. Now, in desolation, I sit in a corner of my house with pen as my sole companion. My eyes weep tears and from my pen issue words of anguish.

> I am destitute and utterly impoverished! O Lord, how long will this idle fancy give me comfort—that my verses are jewels and these jewels are treasures from own mine?
>
> All has been written in eternity and nothing can be changed. Our fates are decreed in an eternity that has no beginning and no end; and each of us has received according to written destiny. Sorrow and joy issue from this eternal order. So I should leave my cowardly state of listlessness and, in my old age watch like a child, with ready excitement, all the astonishing things which are occurring.

—(Ghalib, 1992: 25, 29, 30-31, 36-37)

Amrita Lal Roy, 'English Rule in India', *The North American Review*, 142, 353 (1886), pp. 356–71:

There is a string of phrases about the English occupation of India which the genius of the English people has stereotyped into a cant. Security from foreign aggression, domestic peace, suppression of dangerous rites, protection for women and children, equality of all classes before the law, diffused education and extended commerce, railways and public works, and other benefits of the undefined entity called 'civilization', introduced by a 'superior' to an 'inferior' race

(whatever those words may mean); these are said to be the many blessings of English rule in that country. It is taken for granted in a general way that Englishmen saved India from anarchy and ruin, and gave her order and the beginnings of civilized life. A great many good people, on both sides of the Atlantic, who get their knowledge from the usual sources, honestly believe that she is very much better off with her present rule than she otherwise would be.

But the truth is this: India has given to England wealth and fame; England has brought upon India penury and shame. Instead of being a means of civilization, English rule in India is almost an excuse to keep up barbarism in the nineteenth century. It is an attempt, by a certain class of Englishmen, to repeat in the East the regretted days of the 'Conqueror' in England, when every native was a 'villain' and all rights belonged to those who 'came over'. Instead of raising, it is degrading the people. The goods coming from it are at present remote and negative, while its immediate effects have been simply disastrous. The fiction of 'England's mission' and 'India's progress' is kept up by the agents of three interested industries—the military, mercantile, and missionary—aided by the co-operative journalism, in behalf of privilege and power, in which the modern Muse so sadly prostitutes herself ...

If I mistake not, this is the first time that, through the courtesy of the editor of this *Review*, a native of India gives his version of her story in a publication of standing. Fully alive to the responsibility of my task, I will try to be as calm in my narrative as the case will permit, though I must preface it by saying that, should England continue in her treatment of India the self-satisfied cynicism which is at present her wont, the history of the English in India, no matter how Englishmen tell it, can be written on the native side, as it has heretofore been, only in blood.

Never within the records of history have there been such widespread poverty and misery in India as her unfortunate people have had to bear since the planting of the English

flag. Every walk of life has been gradually usurped by a grasping monopoly whose boast is that they are not of the people. The children of the soil are to-day, virtually, serfs, working away their lives for a scanty board. Free imports, which have enriched English capitalists, have killed the manufacturers of the country, maimed its industry, and made its trade pass into foreign hands, and the people have to look to Europe for the merest necessaries of life. As if this was not enough to keep down the wealth of the country, it is further exhausted by an increasing annual drain, now over £40,000,000, in the shape of exports, for which there are no corresponding imports. This amount, equal to a sum higher than half the gross State revenues, represents interests on foreign debt and on foreign capital invested in India, pensions and salaries to Englishmen in Europe, the ever-increasing deficit of the government made good, and part of the savings of foreigners remitted in this form, all of which items are constantly forcing away larger and larger amounts of the very food from a starving people. Thus the formation of capital and a moneyed class by native industry is simply impossible, and there is being rapidly attained that dead level of poverty of a whole people which the Socialists of the West believe to be the immediate prelude to the dawn of the new day. Any signs of life in the country can be seen now in the seaports and a few centers of government alone, but the interior everywhere presents only ruins and destitution. The ruined industries have thrown increasing numbers upon an impoverished soil, only to struggle until nature fails, when they lay themselves down to die.

Forty millions of the peasantry, or fully one-fifth of the subjects of the 'Empress of India', are, on the telling of the official statistician, in a state of chronic starvation. To these even one meal of coarse grain in a day is a precarious luxury. The extravagance of the Government, its indifference to the needs and sufferings of the people and its oppressive taxes, have induced famine after famine, at the rate of one in every five or six years. Ten millions, by the official

returns, have died of acute famine in the last twenty-five years, but in reality twice the figure would not very much overstate the fact. The national debt has steadily increased, is now near £250,000,000, while fully eighty per cent of the people are more or less in the hands of the money-lender. Every means of raising money has been tried: free-trade England preaching to all the world untaxed bread as the first necessity of civilization, taxes India's native salt from 1,500 to 2,000 per cent on its cost value; Christian England, sending missionaries to every corner of the globe, is compelled to eke out her Indian revenues by utilizing the opium habit of China; yet the average annual deficit of the Indian Government has for the last seventy years amounted to £1,000,000. But there is now a plan on hand to add another two millions sterling to the military expenditure of the country, and 'otherwise increase the efficiency of the services', in view of prospective war with Russia. It is superfluous to say that all the high-paid offices are almost exclusively filled by Englishmen, to whom India is at best but a luxurious exile. Free imports, forced exports, and official extravagance are to India the three brass balls one sees over certain establishments in Western cities—the symbols of hunger, misery, and despair. India is in pawn, and her people on the verge of bankruptcy... In India the landlord has always been the best possible one, namely, the State; but the English Government has stepped in as a private corporation and absentee rack-renter, doing no duties toward its tenants, and extorting more than its rights. Its sole aim is to get up a revenue with the least possible thought spent upon it. Fallow and cultivated lands are charged the same in English territories, the result being exhaustion of the soil from want of rest, while the native rule is to assess fallow land only one-eighth of the cultivated. The English Government, unlike the native, further checks improvement by taxing wells sunk at the personal cost of the cultivator. Its assessment is based on the tenant's produce in a good year, of which it appropriates, on an average, forty per cent, puts its value in

cash, fixes regulation times for collecting, and leaves the machine to do the rest. The result is that, often compelled to find cash before his harvest is in, the same amount in bad seasons as in good, the luckiest farmer must resort to the money-lender nine times out of ten. Native rulers take payment in kind, of from a fourth to a third of the produce of the year, according as it is good or bad; they make postponements, and even partial or total remissions in bad times, while the arrears of rent are allowed to stand without interest, thus saving the peasantry from the two great curses of usury and ruinous civil suits. Pasture land is free in native India, but English India has a Forest Department and Forest Laws, which have increased the value of grass and wood the same way as that of salt, so that the cattle are deteriorating, and manure and fuel are scarce. Of local cesses there are few in the native territories, but a good many in the English. Lastly, the worst native tyrant could be beseeched, cajoled, frightened; but there is no appeal to the tyranny of a corporate machine. The pretence that native anarchy and misrule made the 'conquest' of India by the English not merely a blessing, but a necessity, is false. It was the English themselves, who, by their artifices, prolonged and aggravated the native anarchy which they offer as an excuse for their own misrule. More than once foreign conquerors or native chiefs have suppressed anarchy in India, and established their power in the confidence and affection of the people, in the course of a very short time,—but the English rule is not established yet, because Englishmen never conquered India either by arms or by sentiment. Their achievements can be written in three words, used consecutively by one of their own poet—treason, stratagem, and spoils. All the talking classes of Englishmen, however, have kept up a continual slander on the character of the Indian people, whose greatest fault was in being overreached by their Christian brethren. Calumny is the homage that wrong bears to right. With the ruling classes of England morality is but the art of securing success and appearing 'respectable': thus, with great

indignation they punished Editor Stead for shocking their flaunted virtue by disclosing their concealed vice. Education has made those who are receiving it keenly alive to the miseries and indignities of their condition; open to insults from the ruling race by making them talk of 'rights'; unhappy at having no other vent but sedition for their newly-awakened powers; While it haunts them with the sensation of one who discovers he has made a fool of himself. Of a new civilization we have got only the dregs; of a new religion, only an insufferable cant, and from the imported new life we have received only kicks.

Indeed, the moral discontent of the thinking, which has kept pace with the physical suffering of the masses, is the other painful feature in the life of modern India. It has affected not only those who are receiving English education, but all those who come within their influence. The generation known as 'Young India', the product of English schools, is a particularly unfortunate race. The allaying of their moral hunger is as much a problem for the Indian Empire as feeding its peasantry. They represent a social anarchy, and conceal, under their incoherent utterances, a deep discontent of mind that will shape the future of India more powerfully than all the mock policies and parchment measures of the dull ruffians who, under the name of 'statesmen', misrule the affairs of that country. Violently torn from the past, they awake to feel more keenly than ever that the only thing real in life is pain. Their 'paternal' government is to them a veritable stepfather, a Murdstone to David Copperfield. While their widowed mother country is undergoing 'civilization' they have been thrown adrift upon an unkind world, labeled, even as was young Copperfield, 'This is a worthless generation of vipers.' Let no one wonder if, one of these days, they inflict a terrible bite upon the paternal hand. They have nothing to lose in this world; no, not even a good name. They attempt only to meet with repression; they aspire only to be snubbed. By a cruel fate they find themselves the veriest stepchildren of Mother Earth, with a

present that is lost, a future mortgaged; with no place in this world, while the Gospel of an Asiatic seer, as interpreted by English tyrants, tells them that the gates of heaven are also closed against them.

England claims to have suppressed infanticide in India, but she is trying to smother the awakening life of her people in its bud. She has fixed the limits beyond which the country shall not grow; she has drawn the line beyond which the native shall not pass. The people have, of course, been deprived of arms. All their old methods of self-government have been strangled by red tape, and they are studiously excluded from the new. It would be a miracle if they should ever thus evolve into a self-ruling nation.

And who are the gods manufactured to rule over us? Lads plucked from school, spoiled by the 'cram' of a competitive pass, and demoralized forever by a false success in early life. It is no exaggeration to say that the English schoolboy is a young savage. Compulsory Greek keeps him from study and hazing becomes his amusement. At an age when liberal studies should begin to expand his mind and social restraints should curb his egotism and form the heart, he is at once placed as a ruler over millions of men. Puffed up by fulsome eulogies of the prestige of his traditions and the greatness of his destiny, he begins to stalk with the air of a Csar or a Napoleon, and can think only in the strain of Veni, vidi, vici. Comparing himself with the meanest and worst types of natives, with whom alone he comes in intimate contact, he fancies himself a veritable god. Restrained in education, with irresponsible license, he remains narrow in culture and his expression assumes a vapid dogmatism. Fully evolved, he is a curious compound of an overgrown schoolboy, an irresponsible savage, and a cynical philosopher ...

English liberty is a reaction against the English egotism which has made Englishmen the conquerors of nature and the oppressors of men. Freedom was born wherever England has been because the tyranny of English rulers is always the

most unbearable. It is against this tyranny that Milton wrote and Rampden bled. It is for this tyranny that the Magna Carta was drawn and handed down from bleeding sire to son. It is against this tyranny that an English colony signed the Declaration of Independence in the blood of their own brothers of the cradle ...

The case of the Indian to-day is not a question of nationality or patriotism, but of humanity. Patriotism is but a lame virtue, one-eyed and deaf, and should not be separated from universal philanthropy save when external aggression makes a distinction between 'you' and 'me' a disagreeable necessity ...

I consider it a privilege that, through good and evil, our lot has been cast, our interests united, with those of the working-men of England and the Western proletariat, one with us in suffering, and the pioneers of social reorganization upon the basis of facts. Since the days of Buddha, India has held her life in suspense, waiting for that new world, without illusions, in which ideals and facts shall harmonize, justice shall be seen, and love realized; and she has not waited in vain. For there has already begun the last heavenward movement of mankind, in which all distinctions will die, all sentiments combine, and the heathen of the past will reach his nirvana, the wandering Jew will find a rest. Thoughtful men all over the world are beginning to see the fact of the solidarity, the oneness, of the human race, which will yet save society when the metaphysical, unrealizable idea of brotherhood shall have proved powerless against the ravages of individualism. None but the wilfully perverse can much longer deny that, flowing from that common humanity which has worked and suffered everywhere and in all times to continue life and civilization, the right to live, the right to work, and the holy right to serve their fellow-beings are the common heritage and possession of all. The writer, particularly, can hold up his heart, having lived in this land where all nations meet, this nursery of hopes, where the cheery breeze wafts from the Atlantic to the Pacific and

back again strains sweeter than ever were sung by the Aolian harp, 'Broad is this earth, gracious is nature, there is room enough for all the children of men.'

I am convinced, however, that the English Parliament, as it is now constituted, will not do anything for India. It has not even tried to since the days of Burke. We have been disappointed by it at every turn. It is a Parliament of idlers and snobs ...

We have one appeal to make to the free citizens of this New World, whose life began in a protest against the oppression of which we to-day are the victims. The people of India are bearing their ills patiently in the single hope that injustice and cruelty cannot long rule the fortunes of a nation. Their rulers heed not their sorrows and their wails of woe die in the winds and waves ere they could reach these distant shores. But when the time comes for them to bring their case before the verdict of nations, let us hope that the American people, at least, will not let considerations of race, language or commerce weigh against the eternal rights of man which they wrote in the Declaration of Independence.

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